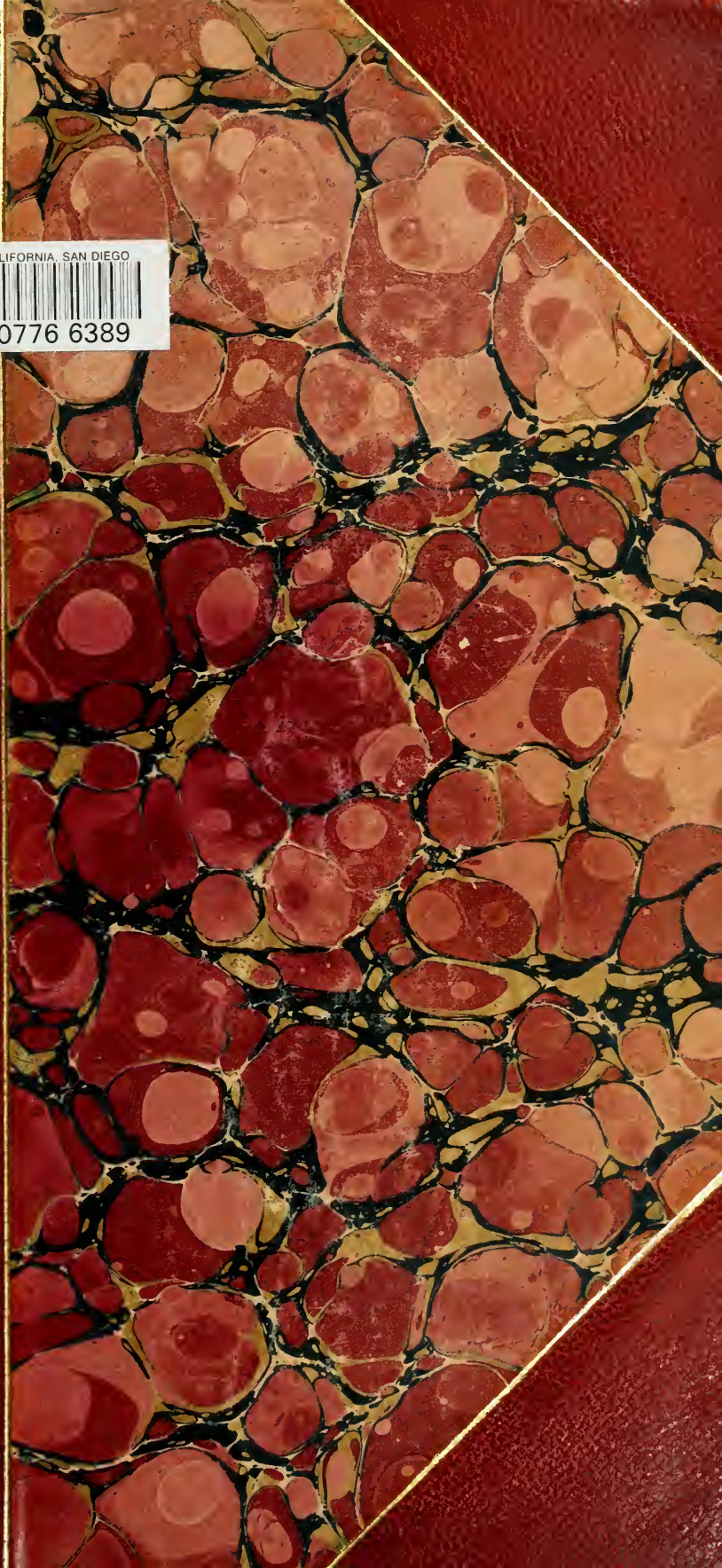


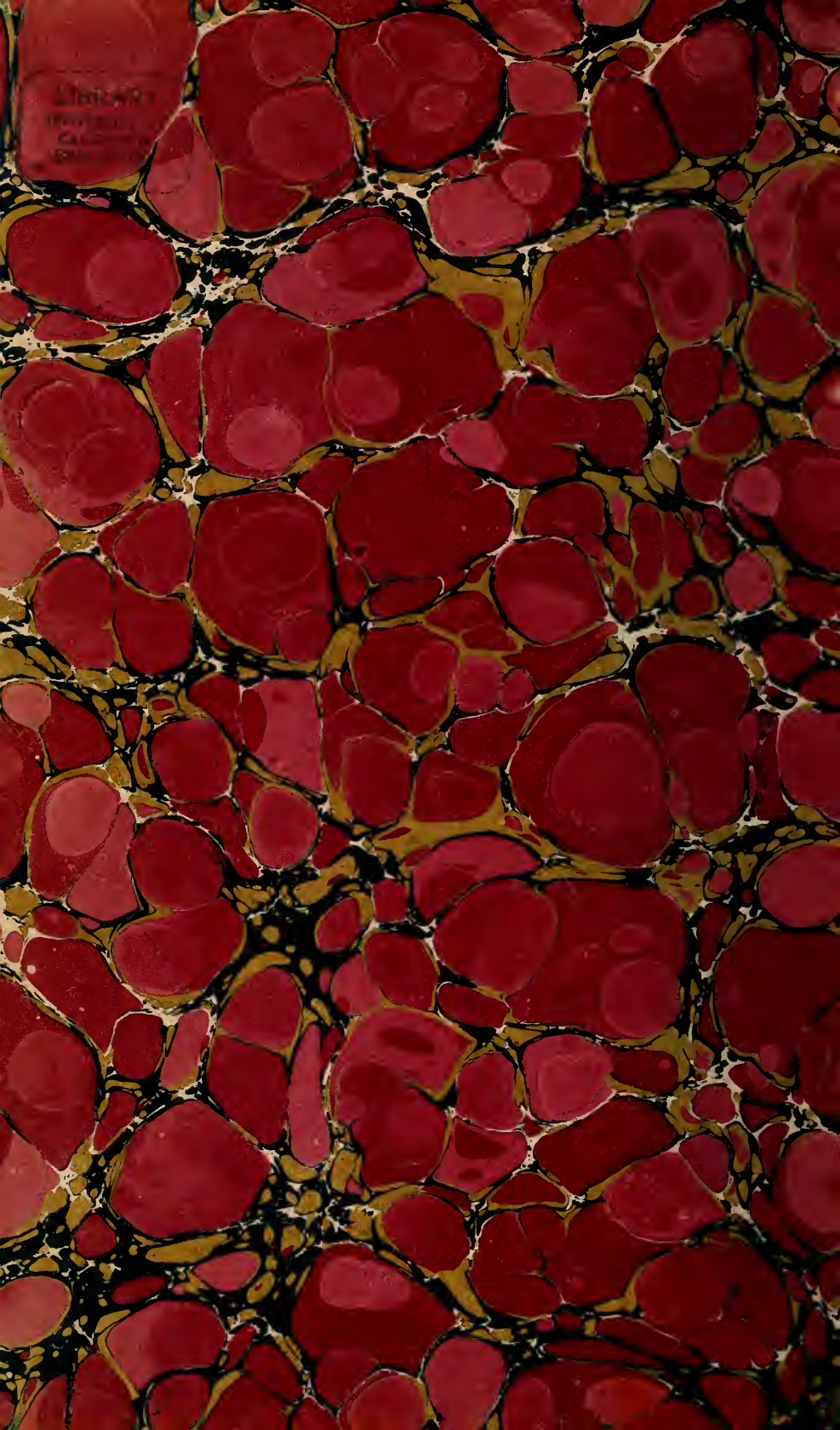
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# LET US HAVE PEACE

AND OTHER ADDRESSES

---

BY

DARWIN P. KINGSLEY

PRESIDENT OF THE  
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

---

NEW YORK

PUBLISHED BY THE COMPANY

1919

*22 Dear Father -*  
*Received your letter 11/15/19*  
*with appreciation*  
*D. P. Kingsley*  
*12/1/19*





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DEDICATED  
TO THE IMMORTAL MEMORY OF  
ALEXANDER HAMILTON



## FOREWORD

---

The addresses in this volume which discuss war and peace and what seems to me to be an adequate post-bellum program, are printed substantially in the order of delivery.

This order is followed not because it shows my reaction to the war in its various phases, but because it may show the reaction of the average American citizen to the facts as they developed both before and after we entered the great struggle in Europe.

We traveled far between August 1, 1914, and April 6, 1917. To give up our long settled habits of life and thought, to abandon our belief that wars, for us at least, were a part of a barbarous past and not to be repeated, was spiritually and mentally the largest task we had ever undertaken.

Then to take up the affirmative side: to disrupt all the normal relations of life, to call all our youth and young manhood to the colors, to send them three thousand miles overseas,—involved changes that were revolutionary. The mind that finally found expression at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne represented a people separated by an almost unbelievable distance from the same people on August 1, 1914.

How small the world! How interlocked its peoples! Little we knew and less we cared about Sarejevo in 1914; but a pistol shot fired there in June of that year lighted a mine which has well nigh blown civilization into unrelated bits.



As I read these addresses again I see as I did not at the time of their delivery that the central thought always struggling for expression was: What is the remedy?

That query first took form in "Democracy vs. Sovereignty", the Chamber of Commerce address in November, 1915. It was repeated in substantially every later address. I find, too, that there are repetitions in historical citations, in figures of speech, in many things that would be absent if I had planned in advance to put these addresses into book form. These blemishes could not well be removed without too much editing, and so they remain.

Now we face squarely the problems that had been inexorably taking form long before the day the Hun first outraged Belgium.

The address called "What Shall We Do With Victory?" states the great problem and suggests a plan for its solution. The men who now control international suggestion offer a Plan—called a League of Nations, and a Constitution for the proposed League has formally been adopted by the Paris Peace Congress and submitted to the Nations of the world.

Analysis of the Plan proposed reveals striking similarities between it and our Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union finally adopted in 1781.

Apparently the political leaders of the world have learned nothing in a hundred years. The democracies of 1919 are in effect controlled by the same impulses, the same fears that controlled the autocracies of 1815. With the agony of this war still lying heavily on the heart of the world, with a warning cry coming up from the plain peoples of all the earth, with Russia in chaos not so much because her people hated the old order as

because they hated war, with the glorious example of our fathers' unprecedented achievement in 1787-9, when they organized a Nation from Thirteen warring States, the Peace Delegates present a document that in philosophy at least follows the instrument which our fathers adopted in 1781 and abandoned in 1789, and abandoned in order to save their liberties.

On the theory that every citizen should encourage any serious attempt to better international conditions, it is not pleasant to criticise this instrument.

In my opinion the League proposed will produce no lasting benefit, unless the confusion into which it must lead shall compel the United States, the British Empire and France finally to brush it aside as inherently artificial and necessarily impotent. This would not only create an opportunity but emphasize the necessity of a union between the peoples of the three powers modeled on our Federal Constitution. No structure in which the units are sovereignties can be other than artificial and a house of cards. History proves this to the hilt. In any effective union between States there must be the seeds of life and the possibility of natural growth and that can be achieved only when a union of States becomes a union of peoples.

Let us hope, as the Articles of Confederation in a way prepared the Thirteen States for the Federal Constitution, that this solemn covenant may prepare the way for an instrument that shall work between the nations which approve it the political miracle wrought between the peoples of the Western Republic by the Charter issued from Independence Hall in 1787.

*D. P. K.*

New York, June, 1919.



# ✠ ✠ ✠ A Prayer ✠ ✠ ✠

(Whatever men's faith or lack of faith, whatever their conception of Omnipotence, all men pray in times of crisis. Men are everywhere praying now. The men of each nation pray in terms of their own ideals, their own history, their own suffering. Few pray aloud, but all pray. The prayers of our own people translated through subconscious understanding, lift against the agony of Europe a great antiphonal which says:)

**HELP** the people of this fortunate land to cherish the Anglo-Saxon tradition; to remember Magna Charta and John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell; to repeat and understand the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence;

**HELP** us to re-vizualize the Minute Men and to hear again the notes of Liberty Bell; ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠

**HELP** us to feel some of the agony that seared the souls of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln; ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠

**HELP** us to give events and men and nations their just value; to be brave enough not to blink facts; to be unselfish enough to give material success its just value; to see clearly, to think logically; ✠

**HELP** us to know tyranny when we see it and to hate it, and especially help us not to look away when it confronts us;

**HELP** us to know when human liberty is in danger and to see wherein the danger lies; ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠

**HELP** us, when the hour comes, to strike quickly and mightily in its defense, even though selfishness and hatred of war would hold us back; We hate war; make our hate grow; But make us love liberty so utterly, so understandingly, so unselfishly, that not even war and its horrors can be as hideous as the front of tyranny; Refresh our courage through memories of 1776 and 1865; ✠

**SAVE THE PEOPLE!** They are now bewildered, blinded, and cruelly deceived; they are killing each other by millions and they know not what they do; ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠

**HELP** us break down the walls of prejudice and misunderstanding and hate which divide the sons of men; But show us also the better way; show us how to persuade men, how to teach them brotherhood; show us how to keep our individuality and yet keep the peace. Civilization is now without form and void and darkness rests over it; ✠

**TEACH** us how the spirit of human brotherhood may penetrate the darkness and banish it, even as in the ancient faith of the Hebrews—the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters and said: "Let there be Light; and there was Light"—Amen.





## LET US HAVE PEACE

FROM THE JANUARY 1, 1915, ISSUE OF THE N. Y. TIMES

**A** CONDITION and a Question mark the entrance of 1915. The barbarism of national sovereignty, expressed by the word "militarism", which has brooded over European civilization for forty years, has finally asserted itself. Europe has gone back to the age and the methods of Attila. The mask behind which political necessity and hypocrisy have lurked has been dropped, and Europe is headed God knows whither. From this condition springs the Question, which is:

What will the United States do when the hour strikes? Have we any program? Have our leaders any program?

Although it is unprotected, and even unestablished by any Constitutional declaration, nevertheless there is such a thing as a world-citizenship, and this European horror can be ended, and so ended that it will never be repeated, only by a definite declaration of that citizenship.

We had no National citizenship as a legal fact when the "Dred Scott" case was decided, and so we adopted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Now we have both a National and a State citizenship, and we have learned after bitter experience that in the first

lies all our power, all our future, and, more important than everything else, all our peace.

We have, therefore, in our own Constitution a model for the world in this particular at least, viz: a citizenship which reconciles and controls all the conflicts of lesser citizenships. If we finally become a mediator between the European belligerents, what folly for us to attempt a mediation which aims merely to patch up the usual form of peace, expressed in treaties, which like all treaties of peace hitherto made, will merely express the terms of a trade between power and necessity, a compromise with the powers of darkness, having written between all their lines the certainty of a restoration at no distant date of the rule of unlimited murder. We must do something better than that, and our own form of government suggests what we should do. We should offer to mediate on the basis of a larger federation, ultimately world-embracing, in which this larger citizenship shall be recognized. In this Federation (not Confederation) the central authority should operate directly on the individual and not on the nations as corporations. The Hague Tribunal is a Confederation. For that reason amongst others it has largely failed.

It is only a few centuries since all men in nearly all the relations of life were more or less savages. Now the men of most nations are gentle, kindly, charitable and just in all the domestic relations of life, but are still savages in international relations. This fact brought on the European war. The people of Europe did not want the war. They to-day pray for nothing so devoutly as that this war may speedily end and that there may never be another. How may they and we

have that assurance? We can have it as soon as we are willing to pay the price. The price, curiously enough, is not to be expressed in money nor in lives sacrificed nor in the abandonment of anything that makes for real national greatness. The only thing to be sacrificed is pride; the only thing to be destroyed is the cruel lie which lives in the existing conception of national sovereignty. National sovereignty as now interpreted denies that the citizens of one nation are entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens of other nations. Whereas the affirmation that citizens of each State are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of other States is one of the fundamental and one of the greatest declarations of our Constitution.

Immediately someone says "The suggestion is Utopian; it is most desirable, but utterly impossible of achievement." But is it? May it not be almost as easy and as simple as Columbus's demonstration of how to make an egg stand on end? With the example of this Republic before us, in which forty-eight States retain their local government, their local pride, their local institutions, even their local ambitions, and are nevertheless happy, progressive and reasonably just to each other under the aegis of the Constitution, is it visionary to claim that the same thing can be done by a dozen nations, if the peoples of those nations really want it done?

And it must be done, or this existing horror will spread and we shall be its next victims. Nothing is more certain than that.

Our obligation to act as mediator, when the time comes, will not be more imperative than our obligation

to present this plan. For us to mediate on any other basis would be an admission that our loud assertions of man's inalienable rights, from Washington and Jefferson to Woodrow Wilson, have been little better than mere mouthings.

There are, too, practical and selfish considerations. Unless we do this, and unless in some fashion we persuade Europe to accept it, we must ourselves become a great military and naval power. As Lyman Abbott said recently: "We cannot assume that there are no burglars in New York and therefore disband the police." And while the law of murder continues to rule international relations, we cannot assume that we shall never become its victims or that we shall never practice it.

If we advance such a program and fail, we fail. The world will be no worse for our failure. But if we succeed, if we partially succeed, no such service to humanity will have been rendered by any people at any time since civilized government began.

President Wilson should immediately call together representatives of all civilized and neutral nations and with them formulate a plan. The warring nations of Europe would listen to any plan presented from such a source; and can it be doubted that the suffering peoples of these fighting nations would make an unmistakable response to such a proposal? That response might almost instantly silence every gun. Those implements of death are now speaking because in some fashion the people of the belligerent nations have consented that they shall speak. Once establish a world-citizenship under such a Federation and the people of Germany would regard war on France, and the people

of France would regard war on Germany, with the horror that would seize us if New York undertook to make war on Pennsylvania.

Review the conditions in the Thirteen Colonies in 1787, and ask if it would probably now be any more difficult to establish this relationship between the peoples of the world, than it was to harmonize the hatreds and jealousies of the Thirteen Colonies under the conditions that existed a century and a quarter ago. Then there was no really great example; it was indeed the great experiment. The Fathers had to feel their way and they stumbled badly. We had to fight one of the most unnecessary, cruel and bloody wars in all history before we finally established this citizenship. It is now no longer a mere theory. It is a great fact, an idea that rules a continent, that controls the interstate relations of forty-eight States many of which in extent, and a few in population and wealth, surpass some of the warring nations. It was more reasonable in 1787 to say that it could not be done by the Thirteen Colonies than it is in 1915 to say that it cannot be done by the whole civilized world, or at least by the peoples of the Anglo-Saxon world.

It *ought* to be done because there is no other way to an honorable and enduring peace: it *can* be done because it has already been done here.

We should not wait for the opportunity which Fate may or may not thrust directly upon us. In the name of our own Liberty and for the sake of suffering mankind, President Wilson should act at once.



*The Seattle Daily Times, Thursday Evening, Jan. 28, 1915.*

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### A NEW "LOCKSLEY HALL"

When Tennyson wrote "Locksley Hall" there was recorded a vision in which the poet-prophet foresaw the day when all mankind would be at peace.

The thought has taken powerful root; nor can it be extirpated by the mockery in 1915 of the most extensive and destructive warfare the world has ever seen.

Alfred Lord Tennyson has been dead for more than twenty years—but the great idea he implanted is thriving to-day.

Its latest expression has come from the pen of Darwin P. Kingsley, President of the New York Life Insurance Company. In lieu of his usual letter, January 1, he gave forth a New Year's disquisition called "Let Us Have Peace".

It foresees a change in the attitude of mankind—in the races of the world, each toward all the others. It recognizes that the nationality of to-day guarantees a citizen's rights up to national borders and beyond that point there is an extraterritorial guarantee based on so-called International Law.

But International Law is merely a weak and worthy attempt "to soften the asperities of the barbarism which, in the last analysis, controls international relations".

President Kingsley takes the ground that there is now such a thing as "world-citizenship", although it is unprotected and even unestablished by any constitutional declaration; and he declares that the European horror can be ended—and so ended that it will never be repeated—only by a definite declaration of that citizenship.

If America become a mediator, what folly to patch up the usual form of peace, in treaties expressing merely the terms of a trade between power and necessity, a compromise with the powers of darkness, with the certainty of restoring at no distant date the rule of unlimited murder!

There must be something better—a mediation on the basis of a world-embracing federation, in which world-citizenship shall be recognized, in which the central authority shall operate directly on the individual and not on the nations as corporations.

The Hague Tribunal is confederation—not a federation; and for that reason it has largely failed. President Kingsley says:

"It is only a few centuries since all men in nearly all the relations of life were more or less savages. Now men are gentle, kindly, charitable and just in all other relations of life, but are still savages in their international relations.

"This fact brought on the European war. The people of Europe did not want war. They to-day pray for nothing so devoutly as that this war may speedily end and that there may never be another.

"How can they and we have that assurance? We can have it as soon as we are willing to pay the price. The price, curiously enough, is not to be expressed in money nor in lives sacrificed nor

in the abandonment of anything that makes for real national greatness.

"The only thing to be sacrificed is pride; the only thing to be destroyed is the cruel lie which lives in the existing conception of national sovereignty."

Just this sacrifice has been made by the States of the American Union. World-citizenship, once established, would make impossible a war between France and Germany—with the same horror that would seize the American people if New York undertook to make war on Pennsylvania.

World-citizenship and Federation is the Vision of Kingsley. But it was Tennyson who wrote:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;  
Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;  
Heard the heavens filled with shouting, and there rained a ghastly  
dew

From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;  
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,  
With the standards of the people plunging through the thunder  
storm;

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were  
furled

In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World!

The "airy navies" are here. Speed the day when World-Citizenship and Federation be realized!

# HUMAN BROTHERHOOD AN UNEXPLORED CONTINENT

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FROM AMERICA TO JAPAN  
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, MAY, 1915

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**S**AVAGERY and Sovereignty, pronounced in conversation, strike the ear not dissimilarly. Savagery represents the natural action of human units in a lawless world — a primitive and uncivilized condition of society. Sovereignty is supposed to be the supreme expression of the authority that regulates organized and responsible states. But, as there are many so-called sovereignties in the world, and as the fundamental claim of each is that it is uncontrolled and uncontrollable by any other, the impact of these unyielding forces on each other has created a new, an irresponsible, a lawless over-world. This over-world is lawless because sovereignty, being itself the law, cannot, except by physical compulsion, be expected to obey any law but its own and such limited obligation as may be expressed in treaties. Under the pressure of real or alleged necessity, treaties are frequently ignored and sometimes openly violated. The result is that national units, in the exercise of their highest functions, operate to-day in a world that is as irresponsible as the world of savagery.

Savagery and Sovereignty, therefore, not only sound alike, but are alike in the social conditions which they define. It is not an exaggeration to say that savagery in a thousand years together was not guilty of such crimes against humanity as have been committed by sovereignty within eight months.

The ability of any state speedily to enforce justice is universally regarded as evidence of that state's title to respect. When the courts of any country become inefficient, revolution is near; when they become corrupt, anarchy is not far off. No country, having either inefficient or corrupt courts or no courts at all, can be said to be a civilized country. In the over-world of International Relations there are no real courts because there is no central authority, and naturally there are no laws which can be effectively enforced.

Proximity and common ideals until recent times have been controlling forces in the creation of nationalities and of International Relations. International Relations are no longer the result of geographic proximity alone. Peoples are near each other now who may physically be far apart and have few ideals in common. Proximity and International Relations have been advanced by increased population and by a multiplication of nationalities, but proximity through the service of electricity and its allies has outrun proximity through increasing population, and to such a degree that from the standpoint of human interest there are no foreign lands. Japan is now involved in a war the physical center of which is at her antipodes.

The world was politically several diameters larger when the American Union was established than it is now. Any word uttered to-day by a person in au-

thority in Petrograd, or Berlin, or Paris, or London, is published in New York or Tokio before "to-day" has dawned in those cities. The Battle of New Orleans was fought two weeks after the United States and Great Britain had signed the Treaty of Ghent, because the world was then so large. That tragedy could not happen to-day, because the world is so small, but the barbarism that lies back of that tragedy has not been touched.

The fundamental concept of national sovereignty is self-sufficiency, but no nation is now self-sufficient. Evidence of that lies all about us. Gradually through the years—swiftly in recent years—through the instrumentalities which have annihilated time and distance, the units of humanity have been drawn together; but sovereignties, as such, are no nearer each other to-day than they were centuries ago. The impact of unyielding sovereignties has been intensified and extended by the common interest which inevitably sprang out of the closer relations between the units of humanity. The new world thus created exhibits all the characteristics of a state which has no efficient courts nor any certain way of administering justice.

We have tried to soften the asperities of this lawless world through what is known as International Law. We suddenly awoke last August to find not only that the land was lawless but that it was the natural habitat of revolution and of utter anarchy.

This increasing, unorganized, lawless, but necessary relation between sovereignties is the great problem before humanity to-day. It is greater than the issues involved in the European war. It is greater because, unless the anarchism of this over-world is stamped out,



the European war will be repeated again and again with greater butchery and with greater shame. All the questions which trouble the statesmen of Japan and America lie in this barbaric over-zone. All the differences leading up to the present situation in Europe had their genesis there. By patience, forbearance, and the cultivation of a tolerant spirit, the statesmen of Japan and America can solve the present-day problems. But others like them will immediately spring up, and little progress will be made through their solution because the realm in which they arise is controlled by the rules of savagery and not by the laws of civilization. Whether the present questions between our countries are peacefully composed or not, Japan and America, and all the considerable Powers of the world, will inevitably advance further and further into this savage over-world. Business and the interests of humanity will compel such advance. To learn what will happen then, we need only point to what is happening now.

Modern business and the growth of human sympathy is the new wine which the people of Japan and the people of the United States and the peoples of the great European countries have been and are now pouring into the old bottles of national sovereignty, with the usual results.

The anarchy of this over-zone cannot be destroyed by Japan and America and the other great nations of the world through any half-way measures. Nor can we ignore it. We must deal with it. Nothing less than revolution in the existing international order will serve.

Can the people of Japan and the people of the United States contemplate with any patience the signing of

the usual forms of peace when this war ends? We all know too well what that will mean. We can even now see the contestants limping off, each to its own bit of earth, immediately to begin preparation for the next and greater slaughter. Haven't we had enough of slaughter? Haven't we had enough of a program which means periodical human butchery and can never mean anything else?

We may as well face the truth; our leaders have failed. They have led the world to a shambles. But the people have not failed. Their heroism is to-day as unselfish and as splendid as the heroism of Thermopylae. The fiber of the common man has not deteriorated. It shines resplendent in France, in Belgium, in Germany, in Austria, in Russia, and in the Orient. In the grip of national sovereignty the people are apparently helpless. As the world is now led, men must periodically go out to slaughter their brothers with whom they have no quarrel. Isn't it time for a new leadership?

I have said that no nation is now self-sufficient. I do not say that nationality has not served a high purpose, but the bloody fields of Europe show conclusively that whatever nationality may have achieved in the past, it cannot now render to humanity any service which for a moment justifies the hideous human sacrifice, which, Moloch-like, it exacts. This war is humanity's greatest tragedy, but it will not have suffered in vain if its opportunity is fairly grasped. The war's close will be that "tide in the affairs of men" which must be "taken at the flood". No people in all the world can render a nobler service in that hour than the people of Nippon. You have seen the world within

the memories of men now living expand as it did when you decided to open your gates sixty years ago, and you have seen it contract through the discoveries of modern science.

Beyond any other people you are in touch with what is old, and yet you are in sympathy with what is new. You have within recent years shown a self-control, a broad tolerance, and a genius for achievement which stamp you as a great and a greatly humane people. Will you, therefore, when the hour strikes, join hands with the people of the United States of America in the formation of a Federation which shall place humanity above nationality?

Happily there is a precedent which indicates how this Federation can be formed and what it should mean.

In 1781 the thirteen colonies of the United States took half-way measures for the creation of a nation. They formed what was known as the American Confederation. This was actually an attempt to create a central power without surrendering to it whatever authority was necessary to control interstate questions. The American Confederation became little more than a travesty on government. It was as inefficient then as International Law is now. But in 1787 the thirteen quarreling States abandoned the old program, adopted a Constitution, and thereby created a central authority known as the Federal Government. The States surrendered nothing in creating the central government, except a little false pride. By that surrender they achieved America and all that America means. They failed to secure permanent peace because they did not in the Constitution make the authority of the Federal Government sufficiently explicit. This resulted in our

great Civil War. That Constitutional error was promptly rectified, and now such a thing as war between the States of the American Union is unthinkable. War between the nations of Europe or the nations of the East or between the West and the East must be made equally unthinkable.

I believe the people of the United States of America are ready to help civilize this lawless over-zone; this realm of Moloch; this land of no-man and yet of every man; this land in which plighted faith has no meaning, where the chastity of women has no protection; this land where intrigue flourishes, where spies swarm, where men smile and lie; this land of head-hunters; this Gethsemane of civilization where women and children weep before they are crucified; this land in which, whether we will or no, we must all dwell.

The doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty—and that alone—has filled this land with Horrors. It should be the Land of Promise, because it is the unexplored continent of human brotherhood.

We of Japan and America must unite to slay its artificial monsters, to banish its unnatural terrors. Otherwise sovereignty will go on quarreling with sovereignty, human butchery will be as unchecked as it has been for centuries past, until that day arrives when the titular head of a really unconditioned sovereignty shall set his heel upon the neck of the world.

# LIFE INSURANCE AND THE CENTURY'S OPPORTUNITY

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AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE BERKSHIRE COUNTY (MASS.) UNIVERSITY CLUB  
MAPLEWOOD HOTEL, PITTSFIELD, MASS.  
JUNE 1, 1915

---

**F**OR the first time since this spinning speck we call the world was whirled into form, for the first time since that disputed date when according to the Hebrew Scripture God said: "Let There Be Light," there is on this old earth a lack of room. The world is crowded. The ends of the earth have come together. There are no hermit nations; no foreign lands. No people can now be greatly wronged without involving other peoples. No question between peoples can be discussed without inviting the interest, and possibly the direct interference, of other nations. This makes the twentieth century the first World-Century—the greatest of all centuries in its significance.

Earlier centuries, however great their achievements, have been, by comparison, provincial. Even when the struggles of these centuries involved all of the known world, the known world was not so large as the unknown. This was true of all the so-called universal empires—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Alexandrian, and the Roman. It would have been measurably true

of the Napoleonic even if the snows of Russia had not overwhelmed the Corsican a century ago.

The great conflicts of other ages have been the product of racial rivalries, of religious bigotry, of political ambitions, but all have been less than world-wide in their reach. Never before has the whole world been embattled or embroiled, and never before has even a part of the world been embroiled for such a reason. The progress of humanity had so shrunk the world that as governments were organized there was in August, 1914, actually a lack of room. Nationality had substantially reached its limit. The nations had begun so to press upon each other, their impact was so unyielding, their relations so chaotic, that each of two great European groups suddenly on the 4th of August last leaped to the conclusion that their very existence was imperilled. Believing that, of course they had to fight. The nations of Europe, each asserting unconditioned sovereignty, could not live permanently at peace. In a given space at a given time there can be only one solid body, and in this world there can be permanent peace only when there is in all the world only one unconditioned sovereignty. How to preserve human liberty, race consciousness, national pride, and yet so plan that there shall ultimately be one and only one controlling expression of sovereignty is the problem of the twentieth century. In its early solution lies the severest test of the present quality of the human race.

Is the race now equal to this unprecedented task, or are we again to revert to a period of darkness? Some of us are so optimistic as to believe that even then a second renaissance would follow, and a citizenship based on the doctrine of human brotherhood would



ultimately be reached. The question is: Can the doctrine of human brotherhood be established *now*?

Possibly our times, even before this war began, in the perspective of history, will be rated as reactionary. Perhaps a renaissance is quite as necessary now as it was in the fourteenth century; indeed, it is reasonably clear that the revival of learning was an event of no greater importance then than a movement to make humanity and not nationality the supreme purpose of all government would be now.

What reasons may be advanced for the belief that the dark ages will not recur, or, assuming that our own times represent a period of darkness, that we shall presently establish the United States of the World. There are many reasons, but I can deal this evening with only one.

Such a program must be based on the doctrine of human brotherhood and a world citizenship. Life Insurance was the first practical enterprise to assert the brotherhood of man, to create an organization based on a world citizenship, and to recognize the fact that the world has become very small.

Present-day nationalities are based on a substantial denial of man's brotherhood, on a direct denial of such a thing as a world citizenship, and the assumption—in the face of incontrovertible facts to the contrary—that the world is very large.

Life Insurance and Nationality are in large particulars in direct opposition. Which principle is to prevail?

But for the inertia of the established order, an answer to that question would be easy. Just now sovereignties in their international relations have so



utterly failed, have so wickedly cheated the world, have so ferociously set man against his brother, that we do not need to point to the wisdom and beneficence of life insurance to prove that whatever may have been true in the past, the doctrine of nationality has reached its limits and the time has come to adopt a larger program.

In its international relations, the world last August was living in an age of pure savagery. We can see things now that we could not see then. The contrast between the good order, the justice, the safety of person and property, which represented the inner life of each nation, and the deadly peril which threatened every citizen of every nation in the larger world of international relations is obvious now. The picture has been burned into our consciousness in the last ten months. Here were eight great powers, each adhering to the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty, that is each claimed to obey no law but its own,—except such law as it might have itself written in what are called international treaties, obligations which after all are limited in their force by the separate judgment of the signatories and have, not unnaturally, through all history been neglected or utterly disregarded under the stress of real or alleged necessity. Each nationality operated substantially on the theory that it alone was right; on the theory that whether it was right or not, it was prepared to defend its sovereignty with the lives of all its citizens or subjects and its last bit of property. These assumptions are very old. They go back to the events that succeeded the fall of the Roman Empire. They have not essentially changed in all that time. But the world has changed, and changed so much that

either these assumptions must be measurably abandoned, or the conditions which now rule in Europe will continue indefinitely.

Nationality assumes self-sufficiency, and we all know to-day no nation is self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency achieved would be a mistake. Why should a nation be self-sufficient? Why should it desire to be self-sufficient? There is no natural reason for this except the fear that it will be attacked. The natural law of humanity is first self-help, then co-operation and then inter-dependence. Inter-dependence has developed with the progress of the discoveries of science, and has advanced in spite of the assertions of nationality to such a degree that when the savagery of nationality asserted itself last August, the shock to civilization was vastly more serious and far-reaching than it had been or could have been in any previous conflict between nations. The world had grown together. The blow that could force it apart had to be terrific in its impact and necessarily hideous in its results.

Consider how silly the assumptions of nationality are. We had a startling illustration of the smallness of the world just recently. The destruction of the *Lusitania* was known in New York by New York time before it actually happened. A hundred years ago, because the world was much larger, a battle was fought in New Orleans two weeks after a treaty of peace had been signed between the contending parties. The present methods of communication would have saved the tragedy of New Orleans, but that the savagery of nationality has been untouched is shown by the fact that instant communication not only could not save the *Lusitania* but probably contributed to her de-

struction. The barbarism that lies at the basis of international relations is the same barbarism in the twentieth century that it was in the times of Napoleon and earlier. Of course this ought not to be. Conditions which put all mankind in instant touch, through messengers which outspeed the sun in its course, ought to have brought a better understanding between men, ought to have created the sympathy which follows understanding. Outside of Life Insurance and some phases of commerce, nothing of the sort has happened. The developments of modern science, the quick interchange of knowledge, the growth of commerce and the necessary inter-dependence of peoples, have been so perverted by the demands of sovereignty as to embitter international relations. So perverted they have not softened the asperities of international intercourse, they seem rather to have multiplied the implements of war and death, and to have actually created in some human hearts a cruelty so remorseless and so utter that savagery no longer seems the proper word to use in describing the relations of nations.

Indeed we need a renaissance. Internationally we are now in a period blacker than the dark ages,—savagery rampant and regnant, not in the heart of Africa, not in some remote corner of Asia or South America, but here and everywhere throughout civilization; in the twentieth century,—in a time when a man can sit at his desk in New York and talk with a friend in San Francisco as easily as he can dictate a letter to his secretary.

Every man it appears, therefore, in every nation lives in two worlds: one civilized, and one savage. He lives in the humane and peaceful and decent order of his

own country; and at the same time in the lawless over-world of which every sovereignty and every citizen of that sovereignty is a part. This over-world is as certainly every man's country as the ether is the enveloping element of the solar system. We may ignore it; we have tried to do that. Every nation has tried to ignore it, with one exception. Germany did not ignore it. She prepared and prepared ruthlessly for the conflict which was inevitable. Every other nation dwelt in a Fool's Paradise. I call it a Fool's Paradise because all nations should long since have taken action to organize this over-world. Morally Germany may have been wrong, because preparation meant war; morally other nations were about equally wrong and in addition they were illogical, because while they flinched from the brutality of the German's logic, they did little to answer it,—they made only pitiful attempts to sweep lawlessness out of international affairs. Asserting after a fashion the brotherhood of man, they did nothing effective or serious, looking to its establishment. The German in effect boldly denied the brotherhood of man, asserted the superiority of his own civilization and planned to impose that civilization on the whole world. The German may have been wrong morally; but he stood up to his logic. And, mark this: Unless the peoples of the world abandon this Fool's Paradise, unless they organize and civilize this savage over-world, unless they qualify the existing doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty, and create a new order, the basis of which is humanity, Germany, or some other people who believe as the Germans do, will prevail and an empire will be established that will be universal indeed. Before that happens we shall have an utter

end of democracy. Which then shall it be, autocracy or democracy? It must be one or the other. This over-world will be organized. It must be. The pressure of the life of the world will compel it. Shall democracy—the people—do it, deriving their powers from the consent of humanity, or shall autocracy do it, deriving its power from the force it commands and justifying its rule by some theory of Divine permission?

This, and not the present European War, is the great issue before the world to-day.

For us to assume that this over-world will be organized by anything but democracy is to abandon the principles for which this nation has always stood. I make bold to assert that democracy must organize this unknown continent, and that it will do so. I also assert that the first great coherent and adequate plan which has entered this over-world and has begun to organize it is Life Insurance. If, then, you ask me whether I would bestow on Life Insurance the dignity which attaches to problems of state, my answer is emphatically that "I would and I do". I bestow on it more than that dignity. It is the one idea current amongst men to-day which runs so parallel to the line of human development that it long since passed the limits of present-day sovereignties and has for years been busy civilizing this savagery in which we all live. While nations were asserting that because of racial differences and religious conflicts and century-old hates, the units of humanity must remain as they are and must preserve their integrity by bloody conflicts, Life Insurance was demonstrating that men—in spite of differences of race, and color, and religion—can work soundly and peacefully together.



The law of Life Insurance is very simple,—it is the law of human brotherhood. Life Insurance does not proceed on any unproven theories, it does not violently take from one and give to another; it values each life and gives to each life only what it is contractually entitled to; and, to the confusion of sociologists and statesmen, it finds that humanity upon the whole wants only what it is entitled to. The republic so established is not inconsiderable. In several American companies there are involved directly and indirectly more lives than are included within some of the so-called sovereignties that are engaged in the European war.

And what have these millions of men of all races and colors and religions entrusted to each other? They have trusted each other with about all that is involved in any proper social or governmental program. They have substantially covered the whole ground of society and government. They have proven, in other words, that it can be done. For example, in one international institution the membership owns securities worth more than \$800,000,000. No member feels that his rights are threatened because he finds among his associates other races and other nations. Why should he be anxious. Is not this lack of anxiety the natural attitude for the man to assume? Isn't the reverse attitude the artificial and the unnatural attitude? Frenchmen and Germans, acting without governmental constraint, through life insurance enter into a partnership which involves the welfare of their families and a provision for their own old age. To do this they have to trust each other. They do not naturally expect to be overreached. They frequently put about all they have into the partnership.

But bring these same men together in the over-world of international relations and what a transformation! They at once become savages. They are the same men, and a moment ago they were brothers. What has happened so to transform them? Simply this: They have left the world of law and order and good feeling which exists within the limits of their own nationality,—a condition which life insurance has carried beyond the limits of their nationalities,—and have entered the lawless world into which nationalities in the nature of things cannot go without becoming savages. When, therefore, the nation becomes savage, the man as a citizen becomes a savage also. But the man through life insurance has discovered that when he enters this same world as a human being, as an insurant, and not as a nationalist, he is not himself a savage, nor is he surrounded by savages. And yet he is in the same world, is himself the same man, and is surrounded by the same men.

Men of different nations, different races, different colors, and different religions, must hereafter have relations with each other. The spark that Franklin drew through his kite from the upper air was mightier than any thunderbolt forged by Jupiter, and it will remain. Life insurance has anticipated that this would be the case, and has shown the way. But under the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty civilized relations cannot be maintained internationally. Therefore, if the savagery in which the citizenship as well as the nationalities of the world now live, is to be eliminated, Nationality as such must assume a subordinate relation in a new and higher order which humanity itself must establish. That relation, in a general way, corresponds



with the relations which Massachusetts sustains to the Federal Government.

Life Insurance has been the Pilgrim of this unexplored continent. The United States of the World, which I firmly believe is coming, will simply be a great insurance company, which will as certainly banish the terrors of war as life insurance now banishes for its membership the fear of premature death.

So organized there is room enough in the world and room to spare. So civilized this over-world will become tangible and mighty and beneficent—even as the United States of America, though inseparable from its constituent states, is tangible and mighty and beneficent.

The cave man, whose hand was against every other man, learned the better law of the family and surrendered his unconditioned sovereignty. The family learned the better law of the clan; the clan the better law of the tribe; the tribe the better law of the state; the state the better law of larger units. So-called unconditioned sovereignty was abandoned in each case as the forward step was taken. Now the great sovereignties must learn the better law of human brotherhood. In order to do that some measure of so-called sovereignty must nominally be surrendered; but the surrender will be, as it always has been, a victory and not a humiliation. It will not destroy nationality but preserve it by protecting it. It will create the order foreshadowed two thousand years ago—

“On Earth Peace, Good Will toward Men.”

## “A MAN’S A MAN FOR A’ THAT”

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AN ADDRESS—RESPONDING ON BEHALF  
OF THE WORLD’S INSURANCE CONGRESS TO ADDRESSES  
OF WELCOME BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND  
THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 4, 1915,  
PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

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ORDINARILY, insurance is regarded as a device by which life, property, and business are protected against the vicissitudes of time and circumstance. It is much more than that. It is the destroyer of prejudice and the enemy of a very dangerous kind of ignorance. It appeals to the mass feeling, to those impulses which foreshadow the ultimate achievement of human solidarity. In its offices and on its streets the peoples of all lands and of all races meet and mingle daily. It is a world-exposition whose doors never close.

Thus welcomed to this City of Dreams, to this epitome of all that was best in our recent civilization, insurance naturally feels itself no stranger and indeed flatters itself that whatever pertinence the formulas of welcome may or may not have on some occasions, the proprieties were not transgressed nor the truth surpassed in the fervent and eloquent speeches of welcome just delivered by the executive heads of the State and City.

A world-exposition should reflect world-conditions; it presupposes world-wide intercourse, world-wide un-

derstanding, and some considerable degree of world-wide sympathy and faith.

Tested by this rule, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition seems not a real thing but a resurrection of an earlier and better age. It stands out like a half-submerged mountain peak marking the spot where a noble continent once was. It tells us that even in our day men did laugh together, and did love each other and did have faith.

This Exposition, therefore, is more than an exposition. It does not reflect the condition and present purposes of the world. If it did, it would emphasize the possibility, aye the probability, that we may not for generations have a civilization equal to that of August 1, 1914. This Capital of the arts, the learning, and the achievement of the world, does not remotely suggest such reflections. It suggests living beauty, and international understanding and international peace. We, alas! know that its suggestion is little better than a mockery, because these splendid piles, these soaring arches stand in the forum of the world not unlike those pathetic pillars of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum, eloquent of the power and beauty of a dead civilization.

Against the methods which resulted in the existing European horror insurance has always been a warning and a protest and has always suggested a remedy. It has been a warning and a protest because it has taught the insufficiency of the unit of anything—whether that unit be a man or a business or a nation. It has suggested a remedy not only because of the billions which it has distributed (and is distributing now) in alleviating the tragedies of life but because it has taught and

practiced the doctrine of co-operation, in which lies the greater portion of any existing and reasonable hope that our civilization may not after all be utterly overwhelmed.

In the struggle for existence insurance is a device by which present strength unites to protect society against future weakness.

Insurance is a perpetual warning that nationality as a basis for civilization is insufficient. Civilization has broken down because its units—the nations—could severally no more carry their individual risk than a man can carry the risk of his own mortality. If each great nation had a world completely to itself, the problem might be different. But our problem is gravely complex. Here are eight great powers and several times that number of lesser sovereignties, each struggling and developing on the theory that they severally are substantially alone in the world. They recognize the existence of other powers through contracts called treaties. The morality of these treaties is historically shown to be little better than the "honor" which exists amongst bullies and thieves. They are necessarily interpreted by their makers and not by an impartial court, because there is no such court, and can be none under the existing doctrine of sovereignty.

The nations have, therefore, lived internationally in an order where the hazard was greater than the normal hazards of life and business. It could hardly be called a hazard at all; it was a certainty. This world struggle was inevitable, unless radical reorganizations of international relations were agreed to, unless some plan of international insurance could be established. Little,

however, was done. The god of unconditioned sovereignty was everywhere worshipped. Nationality impinged on nationality. The world grew smaller. The international impact grew heavier. Germans saw the significance of the doctrine of sovereignty in the time of the Great Frederick. They began to get ready. The other European nations did not see the true significance of the situation and prepared only half-heartedly for a struggle upon which they never really expected to enter.

No nation took the lead in a movement to insure the perpetuity of all through assured peace for all. Germany, logically following the doctrine of sovereignty, deliberately prepared to impose her civilization on the entire world. The other nations built up the elaborate fabric of their peaceful purposes without adequate preparations to defend that structure by force on the one hand or a program of world-co-operation to preserve it on the other.

Germany aimed to insure herself by her might, which spelled world dominion and could mean nothing else. The other nations denied any ambition for world dominion and at the same time utterly neglected to protect their integrity through co-operation. The so-called Allies have neither lived up to the logic of unconditioned sovereignty nor prepared the world for its opposite through international insurance.

The government at Washington, whatever else it is, is a great insurance company whose chief function is to guarantee the peace and integrity of the States. It follows precisely the principles which underlie all sound insurance. Why do California and New York exist as commonwealths to-day? Would they probably exist

but for the Federal Union? Have they lost any dignity or power or happiness or peace because they have duly subscribed to the great insurance compact of 1789? Would nations fare differently if a like compact were made under a larger Federation?

When someone remarks that we must travel a long way *forward* before we reach such a federation, it becomes pertinent to reply that we have traveled a long way *backward* within fourteen months and at infinite cost. If the constructive forces of the world, as they existed on August 1, 1914, could have been brought into co-operation, if the bigotry that skulks behind what we call patriotism could have been exorcised, if human rights and not national sovereignty could have been made the supreme purpose of civil society, the distance which then separated us from a condition of international civilization and world peace, real peace, lasting peace, would have been shorter than that already measured in the existing plunge toward chaos. The world was so led that it stupidly chose to plunge toward chaos.

The man who doesn't insure his life and his property and his business we rate as stupid. Sovereignty is to every citizen a menace as real as that of the vicissitudes of life, an enemy as certain and cruel in its average action as human mortality. Yet self-governing men, men who otherwise think and look facts in the face, make little or no provision against its operation. In seeking for a word which describes the condition of mind of the average citizenship of the world in its attitude toward sovereignty, that word "stupid" fits better than any word I know.



For the common man to allow his governments to force him to kill and be killed for no sufficient reason is stupid; for him to become obsessed with the idea that the peoples of other nations want to wrong him is stupid; for him to believe that it is his duty to slay his fellows and destroy their property is stupid; for him to raise up sons with infinite pains and at heavy cost to have those sons fed to cannon is stupid; for him not to see through the designs or unconscious errors of politicians and rulers is stupid; for him to have followed leaders so wicked or so blind that they have led him to a shambles was stupid. It was stupid—because there is little about this war that suggests Thermopylae or Tours or Lexington or Gettysburg, where resistance was righteously made to tyranny or error. This war is the logical resultant of forces that were perfectly open in their operation and perfectly certain in their issue. The statesmen of the world could not or did not rise above the provincialism of nationality. Remorselessly or blindly or stupidly—some will say deliberately—they drove the great machines of modern civilization into each other, head on.

We have on our Northern border all the elements of a similar collision. Four thousand miles of frontier separate us from Canada. Along that entire front there has been no fort and on the great inland seas which lie between no ship of war, for well nigh a century. There is nowhere in the world a more splendid people than these Canadian neighbors. For us and them to drift along in a sort of fool's paradise with no strong and definite arrangement which will insure them and their sons and us and our sons against the insanity of war is stupid. We have been lucky for a



hundred years because nothing has disturbed our dreaming, but we are infinitely stupid, now that we realize the brutal possibilities of present-day civilization, in continuing conditions fraught with such hideous consequences. It would be as savage and as monstrous for us to fight with Canada as it would be for California to fight with Oregon. There is no natural reason why we should—and yet, who shall say what may happen while they assert and we assert that our rights as nations are paramount to our several rights as individuals, as human beings?

Consideration of our relations with Canada brings us squarely up against the question of our own condition in our relations to international problems.

There are two types of international peace insurance, one already established, the other to be established:

First. Peace insurance based on might,—expressed generally in a great standing army and a powerful navy.

Second. Peace insurance based on a League or Federation, to which the peoples shall have delegated such authority as will enable it to enforce peace internationally.

The first type of insurance may be called the European plan, adopted practically by all the great trans-Atlantic powers, and most perfectly exemplified by Germany. What sort of peace that plan produces Europe now teaches us. What the system ultimately leads to Shakespeare expresses through Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*, when he says:

“Then everything includes itself in power,  
Power into will, will into appetite;  
And appetite, an universal wolf,  
So doubly seconded with will and power,  
Must make, perforce, an universal prey,  
And, last, eat up himself.”

The second type of insurance may be called the American plan and is exemplified in the Federation formed by the Thirteen Colonies in 1789. What sort of peace insurance the American plan produces the status of the States under the Federal Union shows. What it shall lead to depends largely on what we do in the near future.

We are now at the parting of the ways. We are living by the American plan; as a people we are acting as we would act if the federation of the world were already an accomplished fact. As a government, on the other hand, we are acting on the European plan, asserting our rights under so-called international law, and threatening to establish those rights by force. We may now and then establish our rights internationally by what appears to be sheer moral force; but the man is blind who does not see that in a direct issue, when nations believe their existence is imperilled, the only law is still the law of might.

Believing, on the other hand, that the time has come for the world to abandon the European plan, and believing that in our own Federal Government we have a model for the government of the world, we have taken no very serious steps to establish an adequate League or Federation of the Nations, without which, in a military sense, we are morally as much ahead of the age as Roger Williams was ahead of his age, and incidentally perhaps we are inviting the same fate. *We*, therefore, even more than the nations opposing Germany, have neither lived up to the doctrine of sovereignty nor to the doctrine of human brotherhood.

You have welcomed us to an Exposition which reflects the civilization of the twentieth century at its

zenith—possibly it reflects civilization at the highest point it ever reached—if we consider man's relation to the forces of nature and his triumph over some of the mysteries which she has until recently so sedulously and so successfully kept from us. But the tragedy of it! You show us these wonders wrought out for the comfort and happiness of mankind, and behold! the wonders have become monsters, because these master achievements have been perverted into implements of wholesale murder. Something was lacking in the plan. What was it?

The world plan which this Exposition represents lacked the principle for which this Congress stands. The Exposition represents efficiency without conscience; progress without order; power without responsibility. It represents the work of men far advanced into the unknown who have since become confused and instead of fighting a common enemy have fallen upon each other. They advanced so eagerly that they lost touch, they lost sympathy—they did not see the whole problem.

Insurance, on the other hand, represents an intelligent appreciation of the whole problem. Its members do not become confused and fight each other; they help each other. In its efficiency there is the conscience of just dealing, which, outside the New England conscience, is perhaps the best of all consciences. In its progress there is the strength of an elbow touch so wide that disorder cannot break in; its power lies in regulation and order and responsibility and international democracy.

This Exposition represents the doctrine of sovereignty. This Congress represents the doctrine of democracy.

In our adherence as a people to the doctrine of sovereignty, we are not only blind but inconsistent and very nearly unfaithful to our own political creed. In 1776 our fathers signed a declaration of principles as well as a declaration of rights and of independence. They declared their adherence to the self-evident truth that all men—not citizens of the United States alone, but *all* men—are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, etc. That all men are created equal is not, of course, wholly true; but, in so far as it is sound and in so far as it is unsound, it is equally sound and unsound everywhere. Its error does not follow national lines. In international relations we, with all other republics, constantly forget that men are men whatever their country, that the *demos* is the *demos* whatever its nationality.

A democracy which is democratic within its own geographic limits only and treats all other peoples claiming other allegiance as beyond the pale, is provincial and selfish and has missed the real meaning of the doctrine which Jefferson penned and the fathers signed.

There are some twenty-four republics in the world. Most of them are truly democratic internally. All of them are arbitrary, autocratic and undemocratic in their relations with each other. Under the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty democracy dies at the frontier of every republic.

The only true business democracies in the world to-day, democracies which do not change their principles at any geographic frontier and have themselves no frontiers, are the great insurance corporations whose

membership is world-wide and so soundly and so democratically related that no dynastic ambition, no claim of sovereignty, can at all change their beneficent purpose or materially modify their humane achievements.

This is the doctrine that will be preached and preached and preached in the several sessions of this Congress. Never more than now has the world needed to heed its truth. Because its precepts have not been followed, governments are tottering, millions of men have already died, millions of women have been crucified, billions of dollars have been squandered. Civilization based on the doctrine of sovereignty has failed. It is time to adopt a new program. The old program is damned to all eternity. That new program must rest upon what Burns had in mind when he wrote

“A man’s a man for a’ that.”

The thing of supreme value in this world is human life—not because it is stamped American or English or Russian or French, but because it is in itself the sum of all values, without which no other thing has any value. Nationality is the expression of a fugitive condition; in sociology it is what Burns also had in mind when he said:

“The *rank* is but the guinea stamp.”

Change the word “rank” to the word “nation”, and the line reads:

“The *Nation*’s but the guinea stamp.”

Insurance may be primarily a device for the protection of life, property and business; but it deals with and is faithful to the principle of race solidarity, and thereby has become a practical and powerful leader

amongst the forces which seek the ultimate realization of the prayer and prophecy which closes Burns's immortal declaration of the rights of humanity:

"Then let us pray that come it may,  
And come it will for a' that,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
That man to man the warld o'er,  
Shall brothers be for a' that."

# FEDERATION OF SAFETY FIRST SOCIETIES OF AMERICA

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REMARKS  
AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN, OCTOBER 19, 1915

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**A**NATIONAL Convention whose purpose is to save life and protect property should strike a welcome note in the present discord and terror of the world. Human life seems so cheap these days! Property! Of what use is it now, except as an instrument by which more men may be killed? Civilization has never previously faced such conditions. It had come to assume that certain fundamentals were established with regard to life and property, and that the safety of these, broadly speaking, might hereafter be assumed.

The anarchy that reigns to-day—because it is nothing less than anarchy—was supposed only a little while ago to be impossible. To the anarchist, society has no terms to offer because he strikes at the very foundations of order, at the safety of life and the security of property. No plan of any group of terrorists of which I ever read could, if unchecked, have produced the material and moral ruin that the great Christian Sovereignties of the world have brought about within fourteen months. It is indeed time that a note of sanity was sounded. The civilization of the year 1914



was brilliant, efficient in many ways, and supposedly strong, but it is obvious now that it had some very great defects. What was the real foundation of that civilization? The foundation was nationality, the doctrine of sovereignty. It rested firmly on the belief that national preservation, national expansion, national integrity were the supreme good, the thing that outweighed in value millions of male lives, oceans of women's tears, and billions of property. Unfortunately, each separate nation followed the same faith, and followed it to the exclusion of the rights of every other nation. Civilization was a house divided against itself.

If the doctrine of sovereignty hereafter squares itself before the Court of Eternal Justice, it must be able to enter on the credit side of the account that which will balance the unspeakable and immeasurable debits which Fate has entered against it since August 4, 1914. Few men can be found anywhere who believe that nationality can ever thus justify itself.

"Safety First" is the old demand for social justice in a new form. It emphasizes the responsibilities of the individual in the Democratic State. The greatest weakness of Democracy, we sometimes think, lies in the unwillingness of the individual to perform the high duties that attach to citizenship in a republic. Every man is glad to be free, glad to take for himself all the benefits that increasingly come to him from a society organized to protect the individual, and also so organized that its appeal tends to make each man stand on his own feet and do his part. An even greater evil than this willingness to take and unwillingness to give lies in the instinctive unwillingness of man in a Democracy

to trust other men with power. By that process we gradually drift away from fundamentals of safety.

If society in a great republic is to be efficient someone must exercise great power. A great nation cannot be conducted by mass meeting. The prime difference between an efficient Autocracy and an efficient Democracy is a question of responsible or irresponsible power. The act of authority must be substantially the same in each case. We have before us now a striking example of this. A Star Chamber is conducting the European war on behalf of Great Britain. A committee of eight men has been granted full power to carry on the war. If Parliament should not meet until peace is made, this committee would make the terms of peace on behalf of the British Empire. A form of government that has been detested by Englishmen for centuries has been fearlessly adopted. Why? Because the situation demands expert knowledge and quick action, and the power so lodged can be recalled at any time; but meantime the action of Mr. Asquith's committee is as autocratic and final as the methods of the Stuarts or Tudors. Englishmen, by this process, seek safety. The first impulse is to save the Empire. Instead of being more autocratic by the appointment of such a committee, England is more truly democratic than ever before. The impulse which led to this extraordinary action was a desire for safety. The impulse not to trust men with power lies in all democracies, and in none more than in our own. Our national impulse is strengthened by the fact that we are still so near the time of King George III and his Ministers. We are increasingly inclined to forget that all governmental power in this country is delegated power,

subject to revision and recall. We reserve the right to do everything ourselves more or less directly, and then we don't do it. As a result of this, we load our State Constitutions with a lot of legislative rubbish and our statutes with a lot of foolishness, and think by that process we have preserved direct control of affairs and done our duty.

But we frequently have rude awakenings. We discover now and then that things have not gone according to our liking. We get angry and upset the whole program at the polls. Then we go off again under the foolish delusion that having asserted our direct authority everything will be all right. We discover a little later that the whole thing is again wrong, and proceed to rip it up once more. This process extends from the school district to the White House.

Our slogan is not "Safety First" but "Business First". The result is that the duties of citizenship, which should come first, come away down the line for most of us, and in the lives of some of us it would be difficult to determine that they are given any importance at all. This makes the demagogue's opportunity. Between the busy demagogue and the busy business man the doctrine of our safety and inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, gets rough handling. The busy business man forgets about these great principles of safety and the demagogue doesn't care. Naturally we get just such civic order, just such administration as we deserve. Not long ago the busy business man, confronted with laws that interfered with his purposes, wasn't over-nice in the methods he employed to get round them. Of these

practices, however, he has recently been more or less cured.

You ask why I inject these reflections into a discussion of the labors of this Federation? I answer because the sense of responsibility, the regard for the rights of others, the intense appreciation of the value of human life and the desire for social justice, which lie at the very heart of this movement, will help to lift the general conception of the obligations of citizenship to a higher level, to a level more in harmony with the political maxims which are the bases of our government.

By this assemblage "Safety First" is to-day advanced from a state to a national motto, from a state to a national battle cry. It will not achieve its full mission until its recognition of the value of human life has been incorporated into and controls the authority which, let us hope, is at no very distant date to regulate and direct the relations of the international world.

The very centre of the doctrine of this Federation and its allied Societies is the value of human life. Its plea is: "Be careful." Why? Because you represent in yourself the value that gives all other things value. "Safety First" means that there is something in society vastly more important than success, more desirable than efficiency. If human life is to be jeopardized by haste, don't hurry. If human life is to be sacrificed by speeding up efficiency, be less efficient. If the human body is to be maimed or destroyed in order to secure speed and power, get 'along with less speed and less power. This doctrine is not merely sentimental, it is more than a reflection of the woe and heart-break that follows the cruel strokes of industry and traffic.

On business considerations alone it is to be rated among the soundest and sanest movements started within our time.

We have long been responding to the impulse which lies back of this movement, but we have been working at the wrong end of the problem. Consider what we constantly do when appeal is made on behalf of the inefficient. We tax ourselves both privately and through established authority in order to preserve and protect lives that have always been useless, or through some industrial stroke or accident have become useless. We tax ourselves to take care of the insane and we look in a sort of haphazard way after the criminal classes. But when we face the conflict of life, we change our whole point of view. Our goal is success and not safety, and success as a goal is a fine thing; but in the eagerness of our quest we strike right and left, we charge, and if in the process we have stricken somebody down, or trampled on somebody, or gravely crippled ourselves, we find it out usually when it is too late. Through haste, through following the fighting instinct, through utter concentration of our work we probably destroy needlessly and unintentionally more value in the process of production than we restore afterwards by all our public and private charities.

"Safety First", therefore, is good business. "Safety First" means that no business achievement is worth while that needlessly sacrifices human life. This Federation cannot wholly stop the slaughter that now takes place daily upon the streets of most of our cities. The vicissitudes of life will continue to take their toll, but the immediate purposes of this organization will not have been achieved until the murder of children



and the maiming and killing of the efficient has been reduced to a minimum.

“But”, someone says, “Why a national organization? Why a Federation? Why not trust the matter to the fine Societies that have sprung up in Detroit, New York, Boston, New Orleans, Portland Oregon, and in many other of our larger cities?” I answer that a Federal organization is needed because the question is more than local. The same sort of conditions prevail everywhere. The same reckless disregard of the value of human life exists everywhere, and the same sort of accidents happen everywhere, except that they are more frequent and deadly in some places. Moreover, the whole problem immediately takes us into the realm of interstate relations and the labor of those that seek this reform necessarily touches Federal authority and must seek its co-operation. Then, too, this is not a political but a humanitarian project and human rights and needs are not limited by state lines. There are no questions of state rights to trouble us. We are business men and men connected with civic administration, or representing it. We do not seek power or profit or honor. We are dedicating some of our time and some of our means to a purely unselfish effort, the purpose of which is to save human life and preserve property. A little group of men, practically all of whom are here, but none of whom I shall now name, have been the leaders in promoting the Federal movement. I shall venture to be so nearly personal as to say that but for the whole-hearted support of certain distinguished citizens of this city, and indeed but for the cordial attitude of the city itself, this movement might not have taken form for some time to come.



I don't know how I became President of this Federation. I was told to take it one day by a man whom I dared not disobey, and so here I am. I expect always to be proud of the fact that I had some part in helping to nationalize a movement that calls men back from the ruthless pursuit of mere success and reminds them that any process by which life is wasted is unfit to survive, and any process that unnecessarily destroys value, whether that value be in property or life, is bad business.

The Safety First Federation represents a national effort to correct some of the moral and economic errors of so-called efficiency. The slogan "Safety First" means *be rational if you would be efficient*.

The Federation aims to deal with the relations of society and government at the particular points where the problems of life are most difficult and the struggle is most intense. It seeks to remind men that human life is still the one thing in the world of real value and that to squander it in any interests is not only morally and economically unsound, but is almost certain to result in utter inefficiency.

Stand any day for an hour at Fifth Avenue and 42d Street, or at Times Square in the later evening, or at any of a dozen other places in New York, and observe the inefficiency achieved by the blind driving at so-called efficiency. Notwithstanding the high flexibility of the automobile, notwithstanding strict traffic regulations and an army of efficient policemen, you observe a chaos of inefficiency.. Traffic crawls. The bob-tailed horse car of twenty-five years ago made better progress than the powerful modern machines whose energies are necessarily repressed by the crush of traffic. Incidentally great peril to life and limb

attaches to these conditions as the mounting totals of street accidents, fatal and otherwise, annually show.

The efficiency of the automobile puts it centuries ahead of the theories on which cities are built. Cities are now built fundamentally much as they were two thousand years ago. The pressure of modern energy has produced the sky-scraper and the automobile,—both absolutely at war with the traffic capacity of any city. The purpose of each is efficiency. The result is increasing inefficiency. No one thought out in advance how a municipality could be constructed to utilize the pent-up capacity of both these modern developments. Existing municipalities cannot be reconstructed. We are obliged to tinker with the old plan and fit it to the new conditions. So we build subways and lay the burden of their cost on future generations without proper tax discrimination with regard to the huge increment of value, unearned, which the new conditions have created. Here has been and is an utter disregard of reason and of safety. All this muddle in the streets of our modern cities involves peril to life and peril to efficiency. Efficiency that does not rest on a clearly thought out program, on safety, almost certainly defeats its own purpose.

Our plea which puts the human unit above so-called efficiency involves more than a humanitarian impulse. It ultimately shows the only way to true efficiency. No material gain, no enormously increased output which reaches its goal over mangled limbs and dead bodies is worth while. It not only represents loss of moral appreciation which means degeneration, but it ultimately leads to chaos and enormous loss.

Suppose the peoples and rulers of the world on the first of August, 1914, instead of plunging into war, had first thought their problems out. Suppose they had first surveyed the splendid condition of the world at that time and said: "This must be preserved at all hazards. This has cost a million years of toil, millions of lives, and billions of treasure. The ambitions of this people or that people realized may or may not lead to a better condition. For these ambitions and ideals to become dominant as against the ambitions and ideals of other peoples means certainly immeasurable suffering and loss. Whether anything would thereby be gained at all commensurate with that suffering and loss is more than problematical. Our duty is clearly to save what we have, to be safe first."

Safety and reason would have been almost interchangeable terms in such reflections. But the European world was as illogical in the solution of its international problems as New York has been in solving the problems of its development. The great European sovereignties, when steam and electricity had eliminated time and distance, each asserting unconditioned sovereignty, became the sky-scrapers in the cosmopolis of international relations. They were thrust in upon each other under irreconcilable and hostile conditions. New York and other American cities have been and are faced with kindred conditions on a smaller scale. Owners of property in lower Manhattan and elsewhere were allowed to build almost at will. They had little more regard for the natural right of their fellows to light and air and a place to stand on the street, than nations had for other nations, in their greed for power, in their blind determination to survive and succeed at any cost.

Appalling conditions followed in both cases. The average citizen must now pay the cost of this civic blundering. The people of Europe are now paying the appalling cost of Governmental folly. Nationality has for a hundred years as clearly foreshadowed this world cataclysm as the sky-scraper foretold conditions in New York. No one in either case thought the problem out, or if anyone did the public didn't understand it.

Human life is worth more than all the Republics, Kaisers, Kings and Czars. What consideration was given to human life when this European struggle began? Absolutely none. Life became the cheapest thing in the world. Pick up any English illustrated paper and see the endless portraits of fine young men who, as the papers put it, are "dead on the field of honor". The same is true in Germany and in France and in all the belligerent countries. The best on each side have killed the best on the other side, and each side is proud of its deed. What has really happened? Merely that the true issue was lost sight of, real values were ignored. Sovereignty was exalted into the supreme good. In a world shrunk to the point where from the standpoint of human life there were no foreign lands men were persuaded to resort to the savage theories that the cave man followed. The people—considered as people and not as patriots—had advanced far toward the realization of true values, but under the pressure of antiquated ideas and false leadership, they suddenly turned to the defense of lesser values, to the maintenance of nationality which is after all only an instrumentality of life and not an end. For two years they have squandered with sickening prodigality the most precious thing in the world. Now the very thing they defended

with such heroism and at such fearful cost is itself in deadly peril. The efficiency which was supposed to lie in nationality has become the chaos of war. Instead of achieving the thing sought men have gone back to savagery. The automobile, without a program, without reason, without safety, has made Fifth Avenue impassable and recreated archaic conditions. Civilization, without a program, without vision, without appreciation of true values, has, seeking efficiency, not only reverted to inefficiency, but to unbelievable brutality and cruelty, to hatreds as bitter as death, to conditions resulting from destroyed vitality and piled up debts which will modify the achievements of the human race for centuries to come.

Safety First means Humanity First.

What will it ultimately cost New York to solve her existing traffic problems, if indeed they are solvable? What would New York have saved in money, time, lives and power if she had long ago limited the heights of her buildings, long ago controlled the location of industries and trade? What will it cost the world to solve the problems of this war, if indeed they are solvable? What would Europe have saved if it had recognized that the interests of the people under the new conditions created by modern science are as utterly at war with existing international relations as the automobile and sky-scraper are with the traffic capacity of an ordinary street?

This Federation has no private ambitions to serve. This unfortunately is a time when the voice of altruism sounds but faintly in the din aroused by the clash of terrific national and industrial forces.

The Federation is ready to join hands with every kindred movement which seeks to remind men that any process by which the world is gained and the soul is lost is a bad process, that any program that ignores the superlative value of human life must lead finally to disaster.



# DEMOCRACY *vs.* SOVEREIGNTY

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AN AFTER DINNER RESPONSE  
DELIVERED NOVEMBER 18, 1915, AT THE 147th ANNUAL BANQUET  
OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF  
NEW YORK, WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

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**I**NTO the terror and chaos which to-day misrule the greater part of the world certain questions are increasingly thrusting themselves: (1) What was the fundamental error in civilization on August 1, 1914? (2) What fundamental change must be made in order to correct that error?

Of written and spoken answers to the first question there is no end. Answers to the second question are naturally fewer, because the facts necessary to coherent thinking cannot be arrived at until the first question has been answered.

All the peoples of all the warring countries believe their cause is just, that they are fighting defensively for their existence. And the paradox of it is that all these beliefs are true. They are all fighting for existence and for fatherland.

I heard Dr. Bernhard Dernburg say in the early days of the conflict, defending Germany for her invasion of Belgium, that the act was a necessity, that a nation could not be expected to consent to its own destruction.

Commenting on our last and formal protest to Great Britain, against what we deem her violation of Inter-

national law, and her disregard of the rights of neutrals, one of the great London dailies, justifying England's determination to retain control of the seas at all hazards, said "A nation cannot be expected to commit suicide".

These expressions from either side, almost identical in phraseology and absolutely identical in philosophy, reflect the existence of a cause of war not often referred to, under the compulsion of which however the whole world rests to-day.

The flames which burst into a world conflagration fifteen months ago were not only already burning under cover fiercely everywhere in Europe, but unquestionably were lighted, unquenchably lighted when world civilization based on the doctrine of sovereignty began to take form centuries ago.

The civilization of 1914 rested on that doctrine. And what is sovereignty? Sovereignty is final authority, the thing greater than the law, that indeed protects the law. Sovereignty is the highest expression of authority in a civilized state, not inferior however to the authority of any other sovereignty, be that sovereignty physically greater or smaller, and not qualified in its completeness by any other power.

This is the language of sheer authority, and sovereignty is the doctrine of authority. Democracy can no more live in its atmosphere than Jefferson's theory of inalienable rights can live in a world ruled by 42-centimetre guns and superdreadnoughts. Its demands are such that peace is now only a period of preparation for war. If any branch of human endeavor is anywhere developed along purely commercial lines, it is almost certain ultimately to be held an error. Highways should be built for military purposes; railroads should

primarily be planned to transport armies; ships of commerce should be so constructed that they can be converted quickly into cruisers or transports. In obedience to the demands of sovereignty, the shadow of war rests over us at all times.

At the very outset sovereignty assumes that it must ultimately fight, that war is its true explanation, and, therefore, it reserves the right to take the last dollar of its citizens or subjects, and, if necessary, to demand the sacrifice of their lives as well. The favorite phrase of sovereignty runs this wise: "In defense of our liberties and our soil we will fight to the last man."

Whatever the form of government, the sentiment is the same. Behind that sentiment and in obedience to its necessities the prejudices, the provincialisms, the misconceptions, the hates, the fears, and the ambitions that so bitterly divide nations, were born. On the first of August, 1914, they had grown to uncontrollable proportions.

Add to these conditions the fact that we were living in the age of electricity, when the impalpable and imponderable ether had become not a dead wall but a shining highway through infinite space, when the spoken word was seized by a messenger whose speed and orbit far outreached the imagination of the people who kept and guarded for uncounted centuries that glorious word picture finally expressed in the first chapter of Genesis, and the conclusion is inevitable,—in such an age, and in a world so small a civilization based on eight great aggressive unyielding unconditioned sovereignties was no more possible without

war than that two solid bodies should occupy the same space at the same time under the laws of physics.

*Unconditioned sovereignty was the fundamental error in civilization.*

A striking feature of this war is that its divisions do not follow the usual lines of cleavage. Neither race nor color nor religion are primarily responsible for the conditions in Europe, nor for the cataclysm which has occurred. Christians are fighting Christians; Jews are killing Jews; Moslems are against Moslems; whites are murdering whites; men of color are fighting their kind. Saxons are fighting their own breed; Slavs are against Slavs. The special favor of the God of the Christians is blasphemously claimed by both sides.

The ordinary causes of war had unquestionably decreased on August 1, 1914, but the hope which that fact held out to many of us proved finally to be a false hope. In the impact of unyielding sovereignties, in the fear which created a race in armaments, in the belief that national preservation was the supreme duty and sovereignty the supreme good, there was abundant fuel for the fires already lighted. The conflagration was certain. Every new invention by which time and space were annihilated, presumably bringing humanity increased comfort and safety and happiness and efficiency, served even more markedly to increase international friction. Sovereignties were jammed together; they met everywhere; they jostled each other on every sea; they crowded each other even in desert places. They had no law by which they could live together. They could have none. Each was itself the law. When, therefore, through the elimination of individual prejudices and provincialisms on the one hand, and the

conquest of time and distance on the other, the world had reached a point where human brotherhood was conceivably attainable, humanity found itself in the clutch of this monster called sovereignty. Then came the tragedy! Not alone in squandered life and property, but in missing the great moment prepared through centuries of human fidelity and suffering, the moment when humanity was prepared to see itself through eyes suffused with sympathy and understanding rather than as now through eyes blinded by hate and blood-lust.

The people of the various great powers of the world in 1914 in fundamentals were not dissimilar. Never in the story of man's evolution had he been so nearly homogeneous. Everywhere he had approached common standards. His dress was much the same over most of the Christian world, and this uniformity had even made headway against the ancient prejudices of the Orient. He thought much the same everywhere. His standards of justice were strikingly alike. He was kindly and merciful. His vision reached far beyond the borders of his own land, and he was beginning to understand that all men are brave and should be brothers. The various instrumentalities that brought all peoples severally face to face, that promised still further to increase understanding and sympathy and therefore the prospect of peace, unhappily and finally had just the opposite effect. Men grew in international sympathy; sovereignties did not. Men dropped their prejudices; governments did not. The rigid barriers which geographically delimit nations became more rigid and more unyielding as individual knowledge grew and common sympathy spread. The light that penetrated to the individual and banished his bigotry

could not penetrate national barriers as such. Its effect indeed was not to banish the darkness, but to cast deeper shadows. The condition that made men gentle made nations harsh; the impulse that drew the peoples of the world together drove sovereignties apart. The movement which foreshadowed a democratic world, the brotherhood of man, meant the end of the existing international order, and sovereignty instinctively knew and feared that.

So far as governments would permit, men made world-wide rules of action. They traded together internationally when tariffs allowed. They joined in great co-operative movements where race and creed and all the usual distinctions that separate men were ignored—ignored because men found when they came face to face that the old hates and prejudices were based on lies. The units of humanity became homogeneous; the units of civilization, the great sovereignties did not. Here were two irreconcilable conditions. Sovereignties were in desperate straits. Each, menaced by every other, assumed that its integrity must be preserved at any cost. None was able to change its point of view; none was permitted to qualify its attitude toward other sovereignties, because each feared, as Shakespeare puts it, that

“To show less sovereignty than they, must need  
Appear less King-like.”

No sovereignty except that of Germany saw, fully, what this meant. Germany saw it long ago. Sovereignty from the beginning meant ultimate world-dominion by some nation. It could mean nothing less.

This explains why the splendidly efficient machines of modern civilization, moving, from the standpoint of



the individual, co-operatively, happily and helpfully under the guidance of powerfully advancing human sympathy, were on the first of August, 1914, suddenly swerved by the savagery of unregulated internationality and sent crashing into each other. How complete the ruin of that collision no one can yet tell! What was destroyed, or is to be destroyed, is not yet clear. Was it democracy? Or was it sovereignty? The ultimate destruction of one or the other is probable. World peace is possible under either, but not under both.

Out of this hideous ruin will sovereignty ultimately arise rehabilitated and increasingly aggressive? Will a group of Powers finally emerge substantially victorious and will the Controlling Power of that group by perfectly logical processes gradually make its civilization dominant over the whole world? That is the only process by which sovereignty can ever bring permanent peace. So long as there are even two great unconditioned sovereignties in the world, there can be no lasting peace.

Or is it possible that out of the ruin will come the revolt of humanity? Will a real Demos appear? A Democracy that has no frontiers, the Democracy of Humanity? Remembering not only the slaughter of 1914 and 1915, but the program of slaughter followed all through the Christian era, will the people say with young Clifford in *Henry VI*:

“Oh War, thou Son of Hell.”

Is it conceivable that they may say to sovereignty—  
“You have in some things served us well in ages passed. You have awakened in us heroic aspirations and led us to noble achievements; but now, alas! your hands drip with innocent blood, you

are guilty of deeds which the beasts of the jungle would not commit—deeds that show you to be inherently and necessarily, in the present condition of the world, the arch enemy of the human race, and therefore we must now fundamentally modify your demands.”

Milton, in the Sixth Book of *Paradise Lost*, tells how Satan, rebellious, and all his hosts, after a terrific struggle, threw themselves headlong

“Down from the verge of Heaven.”

He tells us, too, how the Almighty stayed his own hand because

“\*\*\*\*\*He meant  
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.”

Flanders and Poland tell a tale of horror, record the use of machines and instruments of destruction, register a story of cruelty and hate, such as even the Miltonic imagination did not compass. The Satanic crew now busy in Europe, whether their blood guilt is the result of dynastic and race ambitions or, as I believe, the product of forces beyond their control, must in like fashion be cast out if we are ever to have peace in this world.

That process will raise profound issues here. The Trans-Atlantic problem includes more than lies on the surface. What indeed of democracy? Will it again be strangled as it was at the Congress of Vienna a century ago, under the leadership of Austria and Prince Metternich? We are involved because if democracy has a future in Europe, it will largely be the result of its triumph here—a condition that Metternich and his fellow reactionaries did not have to face.

For a hundred and thirty-five years of organized life, and indeed through all the years since the settlement of Jamestown and the landing at Plymouth, America has been the beneficiary of the human race. Wrapped in her all but impenetrable isolation, beyond the reach of dynastic ambition, and until recently substantially beyond the impact of other sovereignties, and therefore measurably unaffected by internationality and its savagery, she has taken to her bosom the restless, the wronged, the adventurous, the bold, the brave—of all lands, indeed she has gathered into her fertile soil seed sifted from all the world.

Our country has not been unworthy of the opportunity. With all her blundering, she has done well; and whether she is now to be branded as selfish after all depends on what she clearly stands for when this war closes. One great thing she has done—perhaps the greatest democratic thing that men have ever done. She has shown how so-called sovereign states can be merged into a larger state without losing their individuality and without parting with democratic principles. She has shown how local citizenships can coalesce into a master citizenship and yet remain vital. But, unless we misread the signs of Fate, she is now nearing the period when she must do more than that, or prove herself recreant, show herself an unworthy beneficiary.

Before considering what we should do in the interest of humanity, what we should do to discharge our obligation and our duty, let us consider what we should do at once, not as a measure of philanthropy but as a measure of safety.

*First, we should arm, and arm adequately; not because we believe in that theory of government, we do not, we hate it; nor because we believe in that method of settling international difficulties, but because we must at all hazards protect this home of democracy from the Satanic brood which, driven from Heaven, apparently fell in Flanders and Poland.*

Second, we must at the same time try at least to show that we are as great as Fate has decreed that we may be.

“But specifically”, you ask, “what should we do”?

We should signify our willingness to meet representatives of all the considerable powers of the world in an International Congress, the purpose of which shall be similar to that of the Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787. That Convention met in the historic mansion where the Declaration of Independence was signed. Those two great assemblages, the second no less than the first, have made the words “Independence Hall”, in the imagination of the plain people of all the world, to shine like the Divine Presence over the Mercy Seat.

We should in that Congress stand for the civilizing and humanizing of international relations by whatever steps may be necessary. If to do that the present doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty must be abandoned, if as a nation we must surrender what each Colony seemed to surrender in 1789, we should stand for that. We should find when the time came—as our fathers did—that we had actually surrendered only a little false pride, a little hate, a little prejudice and a little fear, and had entered, as the Colonies did, upon the only Order that leads to peace and true greatness.

If such a program were presented to the stricken people of Europe at this war's close, it probably would not raise any larger problem than Washington and Franklin and Madison and Hamilton faced in 1787. The whole civilized world is no larger nor more obsessed by prejudice than the Colonies were then. You remember how bitterly they hated each other. Perhaps you recall what Mr. James Bryce says in his "*American Commonwealth*", viz: that if the people of the Colonies had voted directly on the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution, it would not have been adopted.

You certainly recall that New York State was against it, and the Convention called to vote on it was hostile until Alexander Hamilton compelled acceptance by the force of his logic and eloquence. We narrowly missed reverting to political chaos.

John Fiske calls the years between the Peace of Paris and the adoption of the Federal Constitution the critical period of American history. So indeed it was. During that period prejudice was put aside, jealousies were overcome, hatreds were forgotten, and the common aims of the people, their natural sympathy, their homogeneity, were gathered up into a triumphant democracy.

No exact figures are available, but the population of the European states now at war—excluding Japan, Turkey, Asiatic Russia, and the Balkans—was at the beginning of the nineteenth century approximately the same as the population of the United States now. Our territory, geographically, is about equal to that of the countries I have included.

At the close of the Napoleonic Wars the people of Europe expected a new order and the end of war. They

looked for the United States of Europe. Metternich and his associates denied that hope and so readjusted continental Europe as to strangle democracy. But the dream of the people was borne over seas and the United States of America in 1915 is the colossal fact which damns the continental sovereignties of 1815, and points the way to a regenerated Europe.

Emerging from this hopeless, senseless, and desperate struggle, the people of Europe will desire democracy as never before. They first brought democracy to us. Shall we now take it back to them?

We shall not, of course, reach the ultimate goal at one bound. A world state modelled after our Federal Constitution may be a long way off, but a real beginning would be a transcendent achievement. Ex-President Taft's League to Enforce Peace, with its modest suggestion of a modified sovereignty, if achieved would be worth centuries of European diplomacy.

We did not ourselves achieve peace immediately after 1789, nor a national citizenship, but after our feet were once fairly set in the way of the Constitution, the people would not be denied. Once the people of Europe feel their feet firmly set upon a road that leads away from the savagery which now commands them, away from the slaughter which periodically claims their sons, from the shame that claims their daughters, no dynastic or demagogic ambition can indefinitely deny them the achievement of the civic brotherhood which is the glory of America.

The people of Europe are not essentially different from us. They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The difference lies in this: We have been the darlings of fortune. We have realized the noble vision



of democracy which Europe glimpsed and lost a century ago. After a hundred years of agony, the Fates bring again to those stricken peoples conditions not dissimilar to those of 1815.

If now we arm—as we should—and do only that we shall show ourselves a nation of ingrates. If we arm and say to Europe that we are ready at any time to disarm, ready with them to create an international state, a state in which the central authority shall act directly on the people as our Federal Government does—a state democratically controlled as our Union is—a state in which international questions shall be settled as our interstate questions are—a state in which war would ultimately become as impossible, as unthinkable as it now is between Massachusetts and New York—if we do that, aye, if we try to do that—we shall show ourselves morally at least to be worthy descendants of the intrepid men who signed the Declaration of 1776, worthy successors of the great democrats who fashioned the charter of our liberties in 1787.

## THE YEAR 1916 WILL PROBABLY BE NOTABLE FOR MANY THINGS

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FROM THE AGENCY BULLETIN (N. Y. L.)  
JANUARY 1, 1916

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**I**T MAY record important changes in the map of the world; it may indeed mark the end of certain ideas in government and the beginning of a new era. The struggle which has held the greater part of Europe in a life-destroying grip for seventeen months cannot go on indefinitely and it cannot end without some grave readjustments.

Someone somehow miscalculated or this could not have happened. In fact a good many wise people miscalculated.

*You know what my belief is: That the Doctrine of Unconditioned Sovereignty made this war inevitable—inevitable unless the world arose to heights of wisdom and sacrifice that were never reached but once in all history, and that was by our Fathers when they welded the Thirteen Colonies into a Nation.*

The doctrine of Sovereignty is the doctrine of selfishness and of weakness.

A nation can no more insure itself, standing by itself, than a man can. The mortality that may come to

nations at the close of this war was as certain under the doctrine of Sovereignty as that out of a given number of healthy lives so many will die in 1916. The individuals who will die in 1916 can do little now to prevent it, but you are busy teaching them how they can minimize the loss.

The nations which will be crippled, possibly eliminated, by this war could not only have minimized but could have prevented such happenings by adopting the life insurance principle. The destructive forces loosed by international friction are all controllable—they are the product of ignorance and prejudice and fear, played on by ambition and selfishness.

The discovery of the law of mortality made life insurance practicable, gave it a sound basis. It was a great discovery, comparable in its influence on human happiness with any of the great discoveries in science. There is a law of human brotherhood, closely allied to life insurance, feared by sovereignties and only dimly apprehended by the people, but it is of the very essence of any plan which will effectually end war.

The natural impulse of the politician is to sneer at such suggestions as being impractical because too idealistic. The world cannot arise from the welter of blood into which it has fallen unless it follows Ideals. No Ideal can be a more hideous failure, can cost more blood and suffering than those the world has been following. That much is clear.

The law of human brotherhood will cleanse the bloody hands of men, will banish the Terror that has pursued every Mother of sons since organized society took form. Will the year 1916 see the beginning of its

practical application to international affairs? Its adoption would possibly change the calendar; it would be an event so prodigious that all future time might be reckoned from its beginning.

You and all life insurance men have been its Heralds for lo! these many years.

The Republic of Nylic is the microcosm of the world-state which must come if we are not to revert to a condition worse than the Dark Ages.

May the year 1916 see the beginnings of that State, see the application to governmental affairs of the principles which you constantly teach.

## THE TRILOGY OF DEMOCRACY

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AN ADDRESS DELIVERED FEBRUARY 14, 1916,  
BEFORE THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, AND,  
ON EARLIER DATES, BEFORE AUDIENCES IN NEW YORK,  
PHILADELPHIA AND CHICAGO

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PROMETHEUS was a Titan, in the religion and mythology of an ancient and very great people; he was also the friend of man. He was the remote ancestor of Benjamin Franklin; he brought fire down from Heaven. He saved the human race after Zeus had launched a destroying thunderbolt against it. He stole fire from the Gods and taught men its uses, and thereby gave humanity the means by which it could develop and elevate itself. He was the first great democrat.

Aeschylus, the first great tragic poet, tells about Prometheus and his struggles on behalf of humanity, in such fragments as survive of his great trilogy,—Prometheus Bound, Prometheus Freed, and Prometheus the Fire-Bearer. Aeschylus dealt with elemental forces, with Gods and Titans and their passions. He was a tragic poet because he handled the stuff of which tragedy is made.

Back of the visible and hideous scenes of this European war lie tragic forces which threaten not merely this or that nation, but humanity itself: a destroying thunderbolt has again been launched against it. The race more or less subconsciously understands its peril,

and there are reactions now taking place in the soul of the world as unmistakable as those which shocked and changed its spiritual life in the centuries preceding and following the birth of Jesus.

These reactions are a part of the development of Democracy; their story is a part of its Trilogy—of which two sections have now been completed. The third part, which should record Democracy's triumph, is now in the ferment of events.

The struggles of Prometheus with Zeus are singularly suggestive of the struggles in recent centuries between Democracy and established Authority. Zeus, through Strength and Force, and in punishment for what he had done, chained Prometheus to a rock in Farthest Scythia, and finally, to complete his punishment, cast him into the Abyss. But not even Zeus could destroy Prometheus; and through the surviving fragments of Prometheus Unbound we are able to see that this friend of humanity was ultimately released, and we can imagine that the text of Prometheus the Fire-Bearer—of which there is no surviving fragment—probably recorded the ultimate triumph of man and his reconciliation with Omnipotence. Prometheus the Fire-Bearer suggests the ultimate realization of the dreams of Democracy; Prometheus Bound foretells our pre-revolutionary period and all other periods of the same character; Prometheus Freed is prophetic of the unprecedented triumph of reason over prejudice that achieved the American Constitution, a triumph which now thrusts sharply upon us—its beneficiaries—the agony of Europe, where Prometheus is still fettered, where the vultures still tear at his vitals. Prometheus Bound or Freed or bearing aloft the flaming torch of



Liberty typifies the struggles of Democracy through the ages.

Our Prometheus, Democracy, was driven by Strength and Force across an almost immeasurable waste of waters, farther than farthest Scythia, nearly three hundred years ago. There was need of no Hephaestus to fetter him. He was chained by poverty, by disease, by savages, by famine. The vultures of jealousy came and tore at his vitals, but he kept alive the Divine Fire, and taught men its uses. This was the first part of the Trilogy of Democracy: This was Democracy Bound.

At the supreme moment our Prometheus rose superior to tradition and fear and ignorance and prejudice. The scales fell from his eyes and he saw! Within his then distant world, where he was free from the ambitions of dynasties and the encroachments of militarism, he performed the supreme act which points the way to the ultimate rule of Democracy, to the attainment of lasting peace; he destroyed, within his own world, the doctrine of Unconditioned Sovereignty. He made the boundaries between the Thirteen States merely convenient barriers behind which local ambitions could be developed. That achievement now controls the interstate relations of forty-eight commonwealths, although some grave questions were not finally settled until 1865.

The distinctive achievements of our Federal Union are these: not only a reassertion of the fact that sovereignty rests in the individual, but the assertion of the right of such separate sovereigns at any time to qualify the authority of the States through which their sovereignty finds expression, to create a larger state

whenever they see fit, and by appropriate action again to qualify or change that.

In 1787 the people of the Western World expressed their sovereignty through thirteen separate so-called sovereign States.

In 1789 these same sovereigns qualified the separate authority of the thirteen States and subordinated them all to a new and controlling State made up of all the people and all the territory and all the possessions of all the States. They called the new State the United States of America.

For the people of all the world, or if not that then for the people of all the Democratic States of the world, or if not that then for the people of all the English-speaking states of the world—which are all Democratic—to erect a controlling-state by the same processes would in principle be no new thing; and that, by such intermediate steps as are practically necessary, is the task that humanity must accomplish if it is ever to control the elements of the tragedy that lies in existing international relations, if it is to escape the stroke of the thunderbolt that has been launched against it.

This achievement of Democracy in America, its rejuvenation in Great Britain and her Colonies, its seemingly permanent triumphs in France, are the second part of the Trilogy: This is Democracy Unbound.

And now the spark secretly carried from Olympus has become a flaming torch.

To-day we are facing the third part of the Trilogy. Will that section record the realization of Democracy's Dreams? It requires some faith to say that. Can

Democracy be born of Tragedy? Can Brotherhood be born of Hate? Can order come out of chaos? Can Liberty and Equality and Fraternity be the children of Death?

Who shall lead humanity out of this immeasurable disaster?

Whence is to come the inspiration which shall produce reason and the light that shall show a road?

That inspiration and that light can apparently come from but one source. Duty as well as Destiny indicate that our role in the work of redemption and salvation, our role in the section of the Trilogy which is to record Democracy's triumph, if that triumph is ever to be achieved, is that of the Light Bearer.

There is apparently no other answer to the questions which the existing European tragedy thrusts upon us.

Tragedy may follow the out-working of uncontrollable forces, whose problems can be solved only by infinite human suffering, disaster and death; but these same forces uncontrollable in one age may be controllable in a later age. A war that is a tragedy to-day, the result of uncontrollable forces, may be a crime to-morrow. That gallant gentleman, Sir Edward Pakenham, and his equally gallant companions, who died at New Orleans two weeks after the peace of Ghent had been made, would not have died if Time and Distance had then been conquered. The forces that slew them were uncontrollable then; to-day they are controllable. Such a disaster would now be not only a tragedy but a crime.

Tragedies may also be the result of controllable forces—of human weakness, of ambition, of fear, of

passion. The fruits of all such tragedies are crimes.

There isn't a factor in the forces back of the European war that was uncontrollable, although one of the elements, and that the greatest, is ordinarily rated as uncontrollable and would properly be so rated but for the triumph of human reason represented by the American Union. This, therefore, is not only the most colossal war but the most colossal crime in all History—a crime so universal in its extent and so hideous in its immediate results that it ought to destroy existing standards of international relations and ought to visit an equal condemnation on certain individuals.

What ambitions, what fears, what ignorance, what passions so possessed the peoples of Europe on the first of August, 1914, that they were swept into fratricidal slaughter, looking each other in the face, touching each others hands, hearing each others voices, and knowing in their hearts that they had no desire to wrong each other?

Why had no great nation—including our own—ever been able to think in terms other than those of its own purposes and ambitions? Why had nearly all national thinking and all national action followed selfish lines only? Why had Great Britain's thinking—rich, vast, democratic and satisfied with what she had, as she was—why had her thinking been limited to the problem of how she could keep what she had? Why did no wider vision come to her? Why did she not see the peril and the tragedy that lay in such a selfish attitude? Why had Germany thought only selfishly while developing the most marvelously efficient machine that the world had ever seen? Believing in her own efficiency, in her own greatness, why had Germany's

thinking suggested no way by which that greatness could be perpetuated except through the conquest of other peoples, through the ruin of other civilizations? Why had it never occurred to England that she could not, in a world so small, keep what she had, together with her boasted control of the seas, without consulting in some serious way the wishes and ambitions of other nations? Why had no process ever appealed to Germany except that of blood and iron? There was a reason for this narrow thinking and it was this:

The instinct of self-preservation is just as natural in nations as in individuals and animals and just as strong.

The Doctrine of Sovereignty made every nation an increasing and a deadly menace to every other nation, a menace which finally aroused everywhere the instinct of self-preservation. Arouse that instinct in a normally harmless animal and it becomes dangerous; arouse it in a man and he becomes a savage; arouse it in a nation and civilization slips off like a cloak, the nation reverts to primitive rules in an instant and will fight to exhaustion. Alarmed by the demands of Sovereignty this instinct created what we may well call the international doctrine of the hip pocket and the six-shooter. It made Christian peoples collectively braggarts and ruffians. It created the world of diplomacy with its intrigue and lying, its conspiracies and treasons, its violated pledges and shameless doctrines of necessity.

It inevitably created a race for international advantage—advantage in population, in territory, in commerce, and ultimately in armies, and in armaments. Its sinister meaning should have been clear to all. It was clear only to a few. It had a paralyzing grip

on those in authority, while the people with splendid fidelity answered blindly to the demands of a patriotism which could not see beyond its own frontiers.

When the world had so shrunk that every man could speak to every other man, when the light that comes with knowledge had flooded humanity, a strange thing happened,—a thing as elemental as any of the happenings amongst the Gods and the Titans. In the most important relations of life men suddenly lost their vision, they lost their reason, they even lost their speech; and, at the same time, they reverted in their physical relations to the level of the Stone Age. Brought face to face through the developments of science, they were able to see and understand each other clearly in all relations of life but one. As citizens, as human beings, they saw and understood all citizens of other countries; they trusted and traded with each other; they were reasonably just to each other and would have been wholly so but for the overshadowing power of the Force that could at any time make them blind and deaf and irrational.

That force was Sovereignty appealing to the elemental instincts. That was the power that had limited the thinking of the nations. It built a wall higher than the atmosphere, as opaque as prejudice and passion and fear could make it all along the lines that geographically delimit nations. To every man of every nation this wall was at once as pellucid as the ether and as dark as Erebus. Every man could see and yet was blind. Through this closer touch, through this better understanding amongst the units of humanity and especially through the achievement of the American Union, a way for a solution of the tragedy that has eter-



nally scourged the human race was clearly indicated; but so obsessed were men by the doctrine of Sovereignty that, on August 1, 1914, they proceeded on a scale so vast as to dwarf Aeschylus' conception of power, to renew and even to surpass the old slaughter. France and Germany had no physical barrier between them; neither had the other nations. They had common ties of enormous importance; their citizens moved freely about on either side of the so-called frontiers; they found each other individually just and kindly. Time and Distance, the ancient and deadly enemies of man, had been annihilated. The elements of the old tragedy were controllable. But the doctrine of Unconditioned Sovereignty which had limited their thinking made them blind and deaf, made them irrational and worse than irrational, made them savages,—all in the twinkling of an eye. Henry Jekyll did not become Mr. Hyde as quickly and as completely as the peaceful, gentle, humane, intelligent, and just citizens of Europe, became savages on August 1, 1914. And the further paradox of it lies in this: When the European citizen turned savage at the behest of Sovereignty, he at the same time rose to great spiritual heights and actually experienced unprecedented moral exaltation. He became superbly, serenely brave. He died smiling, with the approving cheers of his fellows following him into the Valley of the Shadow,—yes, even though by proper standards his hands reeked with innocent blood. Measured by these tests there are no cowards anywhere in the world. All men are gloriously brave. Never in all history have the individual courage, the devotion, and the self-sacrifice of the common man shone out so splendidly. And this com-

pletes the tragedy,—that such noble qualities should be so ignobly used.

In Europe Prometheus is still fettered. The rule of Sovereignty possesses it utterly. Beyond our geographic limits it possesses us too. We are as undemocratic in international relations as any nation that ever existed. And the tragedy of it is that we must be so until the lines that delimit nations have no more significance than the lines that separate the States of our Union.

The situation in Europe threatens us; Sovereignty threatens us: because while we have a law under which forty-eight States can live together, Europe has no law under which her States can live together and we have no law under which our Union and the States of Europe can live together. We ought to have, but Unconditioned Sovereignty denies it; Unconditioned Sovereignty, whose sinister power can make even us blind and mad. Unconditioned Sovereignty threatens us. Because of that threat, we are demanding that Washington prepare—there seems to be no other sane thing to do. Prepare to do what? Primarily of course to defend ourselves, but secondarily to re-create a condition under which our national boundaries shall become a wall through which we cannot see, behind which,—not beyond which, let us hope,—we may become as mad as any. How we hate it! As we make this demand, we feel that we have compromised ourselves, that we have parted with some measure of our most precious possession,—our self-respect. Preparation with us as with every true Democracy is indeed a necessity only a little less hideous than war itself.

If to prepare—which at best is a patriotic reversion to barbarism—is all we are to do, we might well conclude that Plymouth Rock and Jamestown have lost their inspiration and meaning, that Lexington and Ticonderoga and Yorktown and Appomattox mark no advance. But preparation is not all—it must not be all. The necessity which demands preparation presents also a supreme duty. Not to discharge that duty, not to try at least to discharge it, will be to shirk our natural role and to fail humanity in a great crisis. As we demand that Washington take whatever steps are necessary for our adequate defense, we should demand that those steps be so taken that our brothers in Europe and in all the world shall at the same time understand this: that as yet we are neither blind nor dumb nor mad; that we hate war and all its hideous fruits; that we have no enmity against them; that we know a better method than war; that these forty-eight Commonwealths, having a territory as large as all of Europe outside Asiatic Russia and a population as great as that territory had a hundred years ago, have been freed and we believe that through the wise exercise of the authority that freed them Europe may be freed, and ultimately all the world may be freed. Our duty and opportunity lie in this:

WE MUST BREAK DOWN THE WALLS OF UNCONDITIONED SOVEREIGNTY. BY NO OTHER PROCESS CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE.

By no other process can the heroic, god-like qualities of the common man be applied to his elevation, and not eternally to his destruction; by no other process can these qualities be redeemed from their

present savage and internecine misuse; by no other process can the elements of this tragedy be controlled.

If we assume the role of Prometheus the Fire-Bearer in the third section of Democracy's Trilogy, the leadership in that colossal task is ours.

Since Prometheus brought fire from Heaven, no greater opportunity has faced men.

No form of government can long survive that does not give security to life and property. That is axiomatic. In the present constitution of this little world, ruled by the Doctrine of Sovereignty with its elemental appeal, the nation that would survive must be ready to fight. That is an admission which the citizens of a democracy make reluctantly, hesitantly, and shamefacedly. But we must face the facts. The citizens of a democracy naturally feel that they have moved in their ideals, their methods, and their purposes, beyond the savagery of such methods. But have they? Is there under the rule of Sovereignty so much less likelihood of trouble between democracies than there is of trouble between democracies and other forms of government? To be specific: Is there so much less possibility after all of trouble between the United States and Great Britain than there is of trouble between the United States and Germany? The same barbarism rules international relations in each case. If the thinking of the United States and Great Britain is more sympathetic and similar, it is because of a common origin and not because either nation is disposed at all to take down the cruel and dangerous barrier which divides them. They may think alike on either side of the barrier, but the barrier remains. The Doctrine of Sovereignty and the principles of Democracy are

irreconcilable. Both cannot permanently survive in the same world.

In international relations democracies are at a disadvantage even in times of peace: they despise lying. In times of war they are certain to play a pathetic part: when sovereignty orders the citizens of a democracy to march out and kill men who have never consciously done them wrong, men who are by nature endowed with the same inalienable rights which the citizens claim for themselves, they obey, but they are ashamed, and for a time at least they do their work badly.

Democracies will not be true democracies until they apply their own principles of government to international relations, until by the creation of an effective union of democratic nations they banish the savagery of sovereignty and the monstrous inefficiencies of so-called international law.

Until such a Union is achieved we must be prepared to defend ourselves; but as we prepare, what other things should we do? After all our glorious history, after our Declaration about man's inalienable rights, after our solemn assertions that all men—not Americans only, but *all* men—are created equal, have we no peculiar responsibility at this time? Must we just get ready and march out and sink into the ruck and horror of human slaughter? Is that the whole of the problem? I submit, in the light of our professions and our history, that humanity has the right to expect something more than that from us. Humanity has reached the hour when it is asking for a new Order and is listening for the voice of the Prophet who is to herald its coming. If the close of this war is not to be



the hour of deliverance, who shall say that deliverance will ever come? If we are not the people to speak, then from whence in all the world shall the voice of deliverance be heard? Shall we by preparation for defense and by silence express our belief that deliverance through a new Order is impossible? Do we believe that this European slaughter is a part of the Order of Nature, and not to be avoided? Is the impulse which makes men love their country born of Evil? Must it forever bring in a harvest of tears?

Let us be candid: When the Roman Augurs, around the beginning of this Era, in obedience to the ritual of their religion examined the entrails of animals in order to learn what the future was to be and then told the people, they at last reached the point where the absurdity of the process penetrated even their consciousness and they laughed in each other's faces. They finally knew themselves for the tricksters and liars that they were. But the people for centuries willingly sacrificed their lives under the direction of these Augurs with the same fine fidelity that rules the peoples of Europe to-day. The loud assertion by great commanders on both sides of this war that they have direct knowledge of the Divine purpose and assurance of Divine approval has in it a note which suggests the ribald laughter of their Roman predecessors. These modern Augurs are the High Priests of Sovereignty. They (and we in so far as we concur) are betraying the people in order to support the established order. The established order must be supported; but this is not the way to support it, this is the way to destroy it.

When in 1788 our fathers created a larger State, they did not destroy the established order; they de-



stroyed disorder: they did not destroy the integrity of any of the thirteen states; on the contrary they gave to each a vastly enlarged outlook and a broader spiritual assurance. They gave patriotism a new meaning.

The United States of America was then not a fact but a thought, not a geographic entity, but a vision: it lay like a new Heaven and a new Earth all about the thirteen states but was perceived only by men of vision. Washington saw it, and Madison and Jay and Franklin and, most vividly of all, Hamilton saw it.

Into the larger world which enveloped them, which they dimly saw and seeing dimly greatly feared, the people were induced finally to go—partly through fear, partly by persuasion, chiefly by the power of masterful leadership.

The United English Nations is to-day only a thought, a vision; but as against the menace of Sovereignty its suggestion enfolds the English-speaking states like a benediction.

We in the United States have seen a vision crystallize into a great political fabric: we have seen a dream become the most practical and prophetic fact in human government.

We now see another and a nobler vision: it pictures the solidarity of the English Nations, it tells us that they are to-day divided only by a political fiction; that in their united action lies the only hope that Democracy's Dreams will be realized. They are one in language, one in sympathy, one in traditions, one in principles, one in standards of justice, one in ideals. The foundations of a Democratic Government so vast that it could compel peace are already securely laid if

the English world shall now arise and make the vision a reality.

Is there to-day somewhere a Prophet who shall yet stand in a Congress of English-speaking nations—a Congress similar to that which met in Independence Hall in the summer of 1787—and say as Washington did on the opening day: “Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God”? Are there Madisons and Jays and Hamiltons to plead for the acceptance of the Order which that Congress would foreshadow?

The opportunity is greater than in 1787, the need is more dire, the task is easier, the issue no less certain.

The larger English Nation which could be so created would do for its units what the United States has done on this continent. It would bring the “Federation of the World” within the realm of probabilities.

Prepare for war? Yes, we must.

But are we great enough at the same time to plead for peace? Are we strong enough to lead in the movement which must ultimately unite the English-speaking states of the world, if the glorious Anglo-Saxon tradition is to survive, if democracy and not the doctrine of sovereignty is to prevail?

If we essay the part of Prometheus the Fire-Bearer, let us not too much doubt the potency of our example. Our brothers in Europe may be blind and deaf and mad, as we once were, as we may be again. But there is a great sadness in their hearts and a great hope. They are waiting, as the world was waiting nineteen hundred years ago. They expect deliverance. They cannot deliver themselves. Sovereignty holds them bound and helpless. The vultures of war still tear at

their vitals. They are as heroic as Titans and as weak as children. Giants in their own strength, they are bound by Lilliputians. They are not enemies, but the Doctrine of Sovereignty has made them believe they are. They do not hate each other, no, not even when in obedience to orders they slay each other. They are confused and bewildered. They are killing each other by millions, and they know not why.


Therefore as we prepare to defend ourselves let us also speak to them. And as we speak let us pray: That even as the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, when the earth was without form and void and said: Let there be light and there was Light—so may our united voices, charged with Sympathy and the spirit of Human Brotherhood creatively penetrate the horror that hangs over Europe, and carry to those who are now in darkness the great Light that first came to us one hundred and twenty-seven years ago.

# THE UNITED ENGLISH NATIONS

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AN ADDRESS IN COMMEMORATION BOTH OF  
THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY, AND OF THE ADMISSION  
OF THE STATE OF VERMONT TO THE AMERICAN UNION; DELIVERED AT  
THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH COMMENCEMENT OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, JUNE 28, 1916,  
BURLINGTON, VERMONT

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N THE 1st of March, 1791, George Washington, then serving his first term as first President of this Republic, by proclamation directed the Senate of the United States to meet in special session at Philadelphia on March 4th, and on that date he presented for confirmation his appointments to Federal Office in the new State of Vermont.

Vermont had then been an independent Republic for fourteen years. Her intrepid sons had won the first important victory in the struggle for independence. Three weeks after the fight on Lexington Common and at Concord, Ethan Allen had thundered at the gates of Ticonderoga in the name of the Great Jehovah. Paul Revere had scarcely completed his immortal midnight ride before Lake Champlain had been cleared of the British by Allen and his associates.

These were great days, great as a record of passing events, but greater as introducing a new and a nobler era.

The founding of this University dates from the same year; but, as an expression of purpose, it goes back to 1777, to the remarkable Fundamental Law

which the Pioneers of the New Hampshire Grants then wrote for the Republic of Vermont—a law that as clearly called for One University in the State as it clearly inveighed against the crime of human slavery.

Through the intervening years—1777 to 1791—when the easterly and westerly boundaries of Vermont were undetermined, when a persistent effort was made to dismember the Republic, when its fine service to the Colonies during the Revolution were flouted and ignored, when Dartmouth College was one day within Vermont and the next day within New Hampshire, the educational ideals and standards of the people were never lowered. Dartmouth so powerfully disturbed the politics of the Republic that the results of the contest—which proposed to make that now venerable institution the educational head of the State,—remain to this day. Dartmouth's appeal was temporarily effective, because it satisfied the fixed determination of our forebears to have an educational institution of the first rank within their borders. With the admission of Vermont to the Union, her easterly boundary was fixed at the Connecticut River and thereby the further plans of Eleazer and John Wheelock and their associates were finally defeated.

The Act of 1791 clearly states its purpose in the Title. It was an “act for the purpose of *founding* a University at Burlington”. Mark the word “*founding*.” The Act was passed during the existence of the Constitution of 1786. That Constitution by comparison with the Constitution of 1777 had been educationally emasculated, and there is abundant evidence showing that this had been accomplished by the influence of Dartmouth College.

The language of the Title and of the Act itself makes it clear that the people after the miscarriage of Dartmouth's plans were as determined as they had been in 1777 to have a University of their own; they, therefore, not only passed the Act *founding* a University at Burlington, but they provided a foundation for it by dedicating to the use of the institution so founded "all such grants as have been already made by authority of this State for the use and benefit of a college."

Their belief that by this language they had not only founded a University but had revived the unequivocal declaration in the Constitution of 1777 in favor of *one* University in the State, can hardly be questioned.

I shall not, however, to-day further discuss any of these old problems: whether Ira Allen was or was not the perficient founder of the University; whether it is or is not legally a ward of the State. Within our University world these problems have already been exhaustively and ably handled.\*

I shall dwell rather on the Anglo-Saxon renaissance which was coeval with the act founding this University and with the admission of Vermont to the Union,—a re-birth which in the intervening period of one hundred and twenty-five years has politically and

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\*For a full discussion of these problems see:

CENTENNIAL ADDRESS, by Hon. Robert D. Benedict, June 21, 1891;

"THE STATE UNIVERSITY AS THE HEAD OF THE PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE STATE," an address before the N. Y. Alumni Association of the University, Feb. 3, 1915, by Hon. Warren R. Austin;

"THE STATUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT AND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE FROM A LEGAL STAND-POINT" (1914) by Hon. Geo. M. Powers.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND CONDITIONS OF VERMONT (1914).



educationally glorified the Western world and carried the Anglo-Saxon love of liberty and law across the Pacific and around the globe.

I shall assume that you, as their lineal political descendants, have in some measure the vision of Hamilton and Washington, and that even as they saw beyond the quarreling Colonies to the present power and peace of the great Republic, so you can see beyond the bloody fields of Europe in 1916 to a still greater Republic where the "war-drums throb no longer and the battle-flags are furled".

The charter of the University dates from the year when the fourteenth star was added to the azure field of the national flag, from the year when the States under the Federal Constitution performed substantially their first sovereign act by enlarging their geographic boundaries, from the year when the Union entered upon that unprecedented period of democratic expansion which has made it for a hundred and twenty-five years the desire of all the world, the refuge of the restless and the wronged. Vermont, entering the Union, pointed the way of honor and of glory. Thirty-four other stars have since been added to the field of blue. This Union is now not merely incredibly rich whereas it was then poor, immeasurably strong whereas it was then weak, geographically vast whereas it was then a mere fringe along the Atlantic littoral; it is that and something more: it is the cosmos of democracy, the great example, the glorious product of a process that has put human rights above so-called sovereign rights.

In Greek mythology the Sphinx was a female monster which sat on a rock by the roadside and propounded

to each passer-by a riddle. She killed all who failed to guess the riddle. Finally Oedipus answered correctly, whereupon, in accordance with her own conditions, she killed herself. The doctrine of Unconditioned Sovereignty is the modern Sphinx which has propounded her riddle to the nations of Europe. Her riddle unsolved, the Sphinx is enforcing the destruction of the infinitely precious structure of their several civilizations painfully erected by the people through centuries of devotion and self-sacrifice. I shall try to point out a modern Oedipus whose clear duty it is to face this Sphinx and answer her riddle.

Europe—indeed nearly all the civilized world except America—stands to-day besprent with human blood, soul-sick and weary, exhausted physically, well-nigh ruined financially, and says: "Show us a better way. We can go no further on this road. Show us the way!"

Ebenezer Elliott, "the Corn Law Rhymester", expressed this agony when he said:

"When wilt Thou save the people?  
 O God of mercy, when?  
 Not kings and lords, not (but) nations!  
 Not thrones and crowns, but men!  
 Flowers of Thy heart, O God are they;  
 Let them not pass, like weeds, away,  
 Their heritage a sunless day. .  
 God save the people!

When wilt Thou save the people?  
 O God of mercy, when?  
 The people, Lord, the people,  
 Not thrones and crowns, but men!

\* \* \* \* \*  
 God save the people!"

From the year that marks the date of our charter and the entry of Vermont into the Union, this nation

has played a unique part in the drama of human life and in the evolution of free government. We see it standing in 1791 at the shore of the Western world with open arms welcoming all who came. Many of us saw it in the agony of civil strife. We saw it emerge from that struggle triumphant, to find itself spanning a continent and facing two oceans instead of one. It has blundered, as all democracies apparently must; but regarded merely as a unit of power amongst the units that make up the civilization of the world, it has a record that is a little cleaner, a little sweeter, a little less blood-stained than that of any other great sovereignty that exists now or that has ever existed. But that is not its greatest nor its finest achievement. That is not the prophetic fact upon which I would dwell to-day. The problem before the world is:

"The people, Lord, the people,  
Not thrones and crowns, but men!  
God save the people!"

Thrones and crowns and nationalities and the savage doctrine on which they stand have wrought their bloody work. Is the day of the *people* about to dawn? That this European horror lies in the very order of nature and is therefore necessary, this nation not only does not believe, but disproves in every line of its history. That blood must be let forever we do not believe. That man congenitally is so much a savage that he is incapable of universal self-government we strongly dispute. That learning and so-called culture and the seeming triumphs of science are only a thin veneer hiding an irreconcilable brutality we deny. On what may we soundly base these denials? The situation in Europe to-day and indeed no inconsider-

able part of human history indicate that our denials are based on insubstantial dreams. Civilization has run into another bloody *impasse*. Must this dreadful condition forever recur? Is there no great example showing the way out?

We celebrate to-day the anniversary not of the discovery of a new principle in government but the anniversary of a new application of a principle. The period of governments based on sheer external force began to pass when Rome passed. That was why Charlemagne and Napoleon, who later strove for universal dominion, failed. The principle that began to assert itself after the Roman era is this: That sovereignty lies in the individual and comes by no other Divine right. This was a violent departure from long established doctrines. After the fall of Rome and after the development and decline of Feudalism, the authority of the individual, as distinguished from authority by Divine right, began to find expression in units of civic power, which we call democracies. At first these units expressing the composite will of individual sovereigns were geographically small,—the machinery of transportation and communication at that time were such that the radius of democratic power was necessarily circumscribed. There was, moreover, plenty of room. The world was still very large; the oceans were broad; time and distance kept men and nations far apart. They did not jostle each other as they do now. But that period passed, and nowhere is the effect of its passing more clearly written than in the history of this Republic.

Washington and Hamilton certainly did not foresee the part that the railroad, the telegraph and the telephone would ultimately play in the success of

their experiment. The Federation of the Thirteen States under the Constitution was at the time a heroic defiance not only of the accepted rules which then regulated and still regulate international relations, but it was substantially a defiance of the belief that democracies could not be large and successful. To-day the machinery of democratic governments controls territories greater than those of some of the earlier so-called universal empires.

In 1783 there was neither telegraph nor telephone nor railroad, yet when the common tie that bound them to the mother-country was severed and sovereignty was asserted by each of the Thirteen States, there was not room enough for them in the whole Western world. After the Peace of Paris, the same hostility began to develop between these sovereignties which is now destroying Europe.

The soil of each of the Thirteen States became something sacred. National sovereignty demanded this but there was in the nature of things no reason for it. Any one of the Colonies might have been geographically greater or smaller than it was, and it would have been just as well. There had been no Divine fiat through which so many square miles of a certain more or less illogical contour were ordained to become the sacred soil of Connecticut or of Maryland or of any other Colony. We know that but for the greed and grafting of some Governors of New York and the obstinacy of others, Vermont would to-day be a part of the Empire State. Fortuitous reasons chiefly made Rhode Island and Delaware geographically small while New York and Pennsylvania were geographically large. Nevertheless the territorial limits of each State,

whether it was great or small, whether its contour was logical or illogical, became in 1783 substantially the limit of the world for the people who resided in that State. They adopted the mental attitude of the patriots of all nations and were unable to see or think beyond their own frontiers. Each of the Thirteen States assumed that every other State was trying to rob it. The assumption was quite sound, too. Commercial anarchy followed and war was narrowly avoided a dozen times between the Peace of Paris and the adoption of the Constitution. The Thirteen States started out to do exactly what Europe is doing now.

No nation has yet squarely faced the full significance of the doctrine that sovereignty lies in the individual. If democracies dealing with democracies must finally use the methods of autocracies, then, internationally at least, democracy hasn't accomplished much. When the peoples of two nations go out to slay each other the spectacle and the morals of it are equally grotesque whether the leaders of each side claim to have been Divinely anointed or whether each side, self-governed, rallies to the cry: "For God and Country." The reference to the Divinity is as blasphemous in the one case as in the other.

The event which we celebrate to-day marks the time when our fathers, having already placed their interests as human beings above the fortuitous expression of their authority called States, applied this principle in a still broader way. By admitting Vermont to the Union they recognized the inalienable rights of people not within their territory.

THE PEOPLE OF VERMONT BY ENTERING  
THE UNION DID NOT SURRENDER SOVER-



EIGHTY; ON THE CONTRARY, BY GAINING A VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF FOURTEEN FEDERATED STATES THEY VASTLY ADVANCED THEIR POWER AS INDIVIDUALS. THEY SURRENDERED ONLY THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TO BECOME SAVAGES IN THEIR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS.

If individual sovereignty means anything it means something wider than the geographic limits of any existing State.

The federation of thirteen hostile states was a logical application of the principle of individual sovereignty; but while it solved grave problems, it created others. If the Union was necessarily to be limited geographically to its thirteen constituent units and was without power of expansion, if it must assume toward the remainder of the world—particularly the Western world—the rigid aloofness apparently indispensable to the maintenance of national sovereignty, then its creation marked no supreme advance; but, if the Union had the power of expansion, if it could when it saw fit extend its geographic limits and its institutions and laws to include other States—States created out of territory owned by the federated States at the time of their federation, or States created out of territory to be acquired later, or, and this would be the supreme test, States that before had been free and sovereign,—then an advance of supreme significance had been made. The act which showed that the Union had that expansive power was certain to take high rank in the history of free government. The admission in 1791 of Vermont, an independent Republic, was that act. In a less dramatic

but no less prophetic way, the admission of Vermont was as significant as the Declaration of Independence. It would have been easy for the Thirteen States to fritter away the fruits of their victory at Yorktown. By federating as they did (and in at least five particulars\* their plan differed from any that had previously entered into the structure of federated States) they preserved all that they had won. By admitting Vermont they opened a door that led and leads to almost infinite possibilities. The process of federation was simple but new. The sovereign citizens of the Thirteen States specifically transferred to a new unit of power called "The United States of America" certain authority, and definitely recited what that authority was in an instrument which we call "The Constitution of the United States". Later on that there might be no misunderstanding with regard to what they intended, they declared in the X Amendment to that Constitution that any power not specifically so ceded to the central government was reserved to the States or to the people. This larger unit of power, like the original Thirteen units, is controlled by the people. That control is supreme across the frontiers not only of the original Thirteen States but of the thirty-five others that have since joined them under the Constitution. The supremacy of the Federal Law, however, has not interfered with the autonomy of any of the Forty-eight States nor with their local institutions, nor with their local government, except as local institutions may have conflicted with the Constitution itself.

Between the governments of Europe there is no

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\* Taylor's *Origin and Growth of the American Constitution*—Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

such controlling power. The interstate hostility which we have destroyed within this country has persisted in Europe, and has maintained the hard outlines of nationality except where those outlines have from time to time been changed by the cruel verdicts of war. Recently on account of increased international pressure brought about by the elimination of time and distance, these units have been compelled in self-defense to do imperfectly and ineffectively what the Thirteen States did in 1788. The European Nations have formed themselves into two great groups. The formation of these groups was really the prelude to this war. The alignment was made, consciously or unconsciously, for no other purpose. When the war is ended, both groups by sheer centrifugal force will separate into their constituent units, and soon thereafter the units of one or both groups may fall to fighting each other or they may make a different alignment in preparation for a later war. No vital principle binds them together. Acting as groups they do not express the sovereignty of the people. England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan can no more remain harmonious, each being a separate unit of power, than the Thirteen Colonies could make an efficient government under the Confederation of 1781.

The principle which binds the States of this Union together illustrates the only process by which war can be ended; it offers the only correct answer to the riddle propounded by the modern Sphinx, Unconditioned Sovereignty. Until this vital relation is created amongst the individual sovereigns of so large a portion of the world that the governmental unit expressing their authority is of commanding size and strength,

we shall have war. Until the people assert their sovereignty and their power in this way, millions will periodically kill other millions, each side praying to the same God, and fighting as each will believe for existence and liberty.

In the anarchy of international relations individuals lose the dignity of their sovereignty and become in effect slaves. There can be no lasting peace until this slavery is ended.

The doctrine that sovereignty rests in the individual lies at the heart of what we may call the Anglo-Saxon Tradition. It began to take form in Magna Charta. It has come down to us in imperfect and sometimes illogical form through Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden. It found a voice in the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. It was incarnate in George Washington, and found its first perfect expression in Abraham Lincoln. Under this doctrine the people of the world can have as now, a multiplicity of independent sovereignties and war, or one supreme expression of their authority and peace. They can create States and destroy them. They can federate the world whenever they really want to do so. We have apparently reached the time when, in the slow moving processes of political evolution, men must either take a great step towards world federation, or go on fighting until some people or some nation, through force, become masters of the world. The existing crisis will finally compel a more or less definite indication of what the people really propose to do. If they flinch and say there are too many difficulties in the way, that the problem is too complex—be sure autocracy and militarism will be quick to seize the oppor-

tunity and once the world is readjusted on the old basis, with civilization resting on Sovereign States, with no law controlling the inter-state relations of these sovereignties except the law of force, and the outlook for democracy and for peace will not be hopeful.

This is America's hour. This is her time to speak. Her Declaration of Independence demands that she speak. Every line of her history makes the same demand. She should speak to end war. But how may war be ended?

Any program which seeks to end war must do something more than picture its horrors. Men can never be induced to stop fighting merely because war is illogical, brutal, and inconclusive. They know that now.

Man is a fighting animal, but amongst really civilized men the fighting impulse demands conquest and not blood. With civilization organized as it now is, man's fighting impulse means war; but the heroic qualities which men exhibit in war are not, as some claim, the product of war. The red blood that leaps at the bugle's note is a reflex of the divinity that dwells in man. War simply calls it into splendid but perverted action. The soldier who bayonets a woman resisting his bestial demands, does not thereby nor in any way create the virtue which makes the woman welcome death.

Can this fighting impulse be satisfied by war only? Is that Nature's law? Is there no other way by which the moral as well as physical courage of the common man can be supremely appealed to? Is there no way by which these qualities can be applied always to construction and never to destruction?

Men have slain each other like beasts and died like heroes every day now for almost two years; but their heroism has been of a lower order than that exhibited at the same time by others who unheralded have also died, not striving to slay but to save their fellows. Those who have died to save life are more truly representative of the morally heroic qualities of humanity than those who have died at the front in the frenzy of battle.

Has peace no qualities which in a higher and to a greater degree than war give opportunity to the fighting impulse? What moral, what heroic appeal does peace make?

For fifty years we have had substantially continuous peace. Has the heroic, the fighting impulse been appealed to during that period, and, if so, what have been the results?

Following Appomattox came an outburst of energy in which there was some of the fierceness and much of the ecstasy of battle. The conquest of the West and the unmatched industrial development of the nation during that period give us our answer and much more. The fighting impulse found here an appeal that has not only conquered a continent but has carried it far into other fields.

It has—

Built the Panama Canal;

Quixotically won freedom for the Cubans and presented it to them,—for which now we have small thanks;

Conquered, or partially conquered, the air and made it a larger sea;

Conquered, or at least subdued, the mysteries under the sea;



Applied the power of steam in locomotion to an extent not approached by any other people;

Developed the telephone and bound it to the daily uses of life until it has become almost as necessary as daily bread;

Made the illimitable and imponderable ether a messenger which takes the human voice half way around the earth, and may ultimately take it through the silent spaces of the universe;

Made the mysterious, elusive, subtle, and still unknown force called electricity the servant of servants.

In the intense physical and mental activities which have produced these unprecedented results we have been first, or amongst the first. In all these conquests there has been the strain and shock of real battle. The victories won in these conflicts have not always been without injustice, but they have been as truly victories—though bloodless—as any won on land or sea.

In earlier years man had not only to fight, but he had to kill. He still has to fight and he ought to fight. When man no longer seeks for something to overcome, something to conquer, he will not himself be worth killing.

But war to-day between civilized peoples is the product of an utter misapplication of the fighting impulse. War was necessary once; it is necessary no longer. It is necessary no longer because the conditions that earlier made it inevitable can now be controlled.

War has been inevitable because the world was so large. Men could not understand each other. It is now unnecessary, but as civilization is organized, more likely to recur, because the world is so small.

It was inevitable once because of the doctrine of sovereignty. In the American Union we have destroyed the evil of that doctrine.

It was necessary once because the majority of civilized people believed in the Divine Right of certain families to rule. It is unnecessary now because the majority of civilized people believe in the right of the people to rule themselves.

War nevertheless exists because the greatest single force in the world calculated to banish war, the force that instinctively hates war and all its works, is still a house divided against itself: Democracy has not yet dared fearlessly to follow its own declaration of principles. It is still provincial; but its tenets now claim so vast a body of adherents that it has only to rise above that provincialism to do for the civilized world what our fathers did for the Western world one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

And what after all is the great cause of war? The great cause of war is whatever alarms the elemental instinct of self-preservation, men's intuitive determination to defend his natural right to life, liberty and happiness: the fear that others plan to take those rights away. This instinct first made man's civic unit his family and his home a cave; then it found a larger safety in the clan, then in the tribe, and finally in the nation. It is instantly aroused whenever the nation, as every considerable nation now must, projects itself into the unorganized, lawless and primitive portion of society called the world of internationality.

Before we can have peace we must end the savagery of internationality. We must hunt out of this no-man's land the serpents of fear and jealousy; we must

slay the tigers of greed and ambition. We must become truly democratic. How?

Ultimately through the Federation of the democratic world, but, as a first step, through the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon world. This reunion must be accomplished not to over-awe any other people, not to pile up force with which to meet force, not to eliminate small nationalities or make great ones afraid, but primarily to make the Anglo-Saxon world really democratic—democratic inter-state as well as intra-state—democratic as our forty-eight States are internally democratic. Such a Federation (not Confederation) would almost certainly come to include—perhaps before its completion—France, Holland, Switzerland, probably the Scandinavian Countries and Spain, and possibly some of the Republics of South America. “The Parliament of Man” would then be something more substantial than a poet’s dream.

The Anglo-Saxon world has had only one great division in its empire since the days of King Alfred. The people of the Thirteen Colonies exercised their power as individual sovereigns and revolted against the purblind folly of a King who was half-insane, and ministers who were selfish and stupid. That revolt broke the Anglo-Saxon world in halves; but it nowhere changed the Anglo-Saxon faith or the Anglo-Saxon theory of human rights.

The admission of Vermont confirmed the breach in the Anglo-Saxon world. That as a bald fact was a calamity, but it brought blessings too. By the admission of Vermont the new nation showed itself not only free but self-sufficient. This reacted on the Mother Country. The folly which alienated the Thir-

teen Colonies was not repeated. The great Englishmen who had denounced that folly came into power. Great Britain entered upon that unparalleled period of colonization that has put a circle of English-speaking nations round the world and brought English law and justice to the remotest corners of the earth.

Canada, long flouted and neglected by us, has finally sprung into national being, as English as the English, as democratic as we are—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The Commonwealth of Australia has been created under a constitution largely copied from ours. The South African Union is rounding out another great, if racially heterogeneous people. New Zealand, Newfoundland, Egypt, India, all the other dependencies of Great Britain, have found the great mother just and wise. Tested suddenly by an assault of unprecedented fury, the loosely held units of the British Empire have stood fast and the Anglo-Saxon world—outside of the United States of America—and all that it controls has been hammered into a Union which will become closer with the post-bellum readjustments. The English states which may rightly claim the dignity of nations, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, have all drifted constantly towards our standards and our ideals rather than towards those of earlier England. Each has a written Constitution; none has an aristocracy; and while all cling to the nomenclature and some of the forms of monarchy, all are thoroughly democratic. The Mother Country herself has moved in the same direction. New and violent readjustments will follow the close of this war. The British Empire, so-called, is certain then to be reconstructed. The anomalous conditions under

which Canada, for example, finds herself a nation and yet not a sovereignty will not be continued. Canada had no voice whatever in deciding that there should be a war. She had and has no control over the foreign relations of Great Britain, though she now realizes that whatever Great Britain does binds her. Canada will have no voice in making peace. In the realm where the supreme questions of war and peace are determined, Canada is less sovereign than the States of our Union. Through their representatives in Congress our States speak in the decision of all these supreme issues.

Let us bring the argument still closer home.

Suppose Great Britain had been as wise in her attitude toward the Thirteen Colonies in 1776 and earlier as she has been in her relations with Canada and Australia. Picture America to-day as a Dominion of the British Empire. Is it thinkable that we would long consent to have the questions of war and peace settled for us by a Parliament which represents the British Isles only? There can be but one answer to that question put to Anglo-Saxons anywhere. Therefore for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, there can be no half-way course when peace comes. They must then become actually independent as the Thirteen Colonies did—an utterly unlikely proceeding—or the whole structure of the British Empire must be changed. These Anglo-Saxon States cannot otherwise fully apply to their own benefit the principles of justice and of liberty for which thousands of their sons have unselfishly and heroically died. This reconstruction will vastly increase the homogeneity of the English-speaking world, but will still leave it split in twain.

What an opportunity! What a glorious opportunity! After the hideous ruin of 1914-15-16: after seeing Europe do what our States would certainly have done but for Alexander Hamilton and the great Federalists who drove the Federal Constitution through in 1787-8, after seeing the Southern States fearfully attempt its ruin in 1861-5; after coming ourselves up out of the world of littleness and jealousy and fear; after feeling the pride that citizenship in this great Republic justifies—can we not now see a nobler picture, do we not get a wider vision, do we not hear the call of a still more majestic citizenship? What would an Anglo-Saxon world, joined as our forty-eight States are joined, mean? Geographically what would it mean?

It would comprehend 16,500,000 square miles of territory as against 16,290,000 square miles in the dominions of the remaining six great powers, allowing Germany credit for all her ante-bellum colonial possessions. Such an Anglo-Saxon empire would embrace most of the choice territory of the world, including both the Suez and the Panama Canals.

In population what would it mean?

It would have under its Constitution 550,000,000—white and colored—against 496,000,000 for the other six powers.

In wealth what would it mean?

Its wealth would approximate \$300,000,000,000 against \$250,000,000,000 for the others.

Its commerce

including exports and imports would total nearly \$14,000,000,000 per annum against \$12,000,000,000 for the other great powers on the basis of ante-bellum conditions.



Such a Federation would be a menace to no nation; it could not be formed for aggression—its democratic units would forbid. It would interfere no more with the local government and institutions of its constituent nations than our Federal Government interferes with the internal machinery of New York State. It would ennoble local citizenship, intensify local pride and preserve local institutions.

Can it be done?

Of course it can be done.

Will it be done?

That involves the answer to the riddle of the Sphinx. Tell me whether America is a modern Oedipus and you already have your answer.

It is certain that the old forces, which have controlled civilization, will, at the close of this war, be exhausted. They can commit no more murders, create no more staggering debts, breed no more bitterness and hate, until they have had time to recuperate. Will the people seize the opportunity while the old doctrines are discredited and force a readjustment that will cast the Doctrine of Unconditioned Sovereignty on the scrap-heap of history? That Doctrine is as much an anachronism to-day as the Ptolemaic theory of the universe.

Some years ago, Lord Roseberry, speaking as Lord Rector to the students of Glasgow University, tried to imagine what would have happened if George III had listened to reason, if representatives of the American Colonies had been admitted to the Imperial Parliament and America had been preserved to the British Crown. He saw the seat of Empire transferred by sheer force of necessity across the Atlantic. He tried to picture

the stately procession across the sea of King and Parliament, of Ministers and Judges. He admitted, apart from all other considerations, that he would even now approve of such a transfer if the wars of the Revolution and of 1812 with all their bitter memories could be blotted out.

The seat of Anglo-Saxon Empire has already made the stately journey that Lord Roseberry saw in his vision. The white population of the entire British Empire is only a little more than one-half that of the United States.

Never before, since responsible government began, has so large and rich a portion of the earth as that lying between the Gulf of Mexico on the South and the North Pole, between the Atlantic on the East and the Pacific on the West, been occupied by an almost wholly homogeneous people,—homogeneous in speech, in blood, in literature, in law, and in ideals. Great Britain is now the far easterly outpost of a prodigious empire. If we start at the Meridian of Greenwich, skirt the Western shore of Europe to the thirtieth parallel, and then travel west we shall find, north of that parallel, a world solidly Anglo-Saxon to the antipodes. If then we pass to the south of the Equator and still westward, we find New Zealand and the vast reaches of Australia. From the Meridian of Greenwich westward to the parallel that cuts Western Australia is three-quarters of the way around the earth. The possibilities of this world-girdling, ocean-encompassing empire, united in fact as it now is in its love of liberty and in its ideals, stagger the imagination.

Every reason advanced in 1788 by Washington and Hamilton and Madison for the creation of this Union

pleads trumpet-tongued to-day for the creation of this larger Union, for the creation of the United English Nations. If such a proposal were now placed squarely before the English Nations, it is lamentably probable that the one most responsive would not be ours. It may be necessary that we be seared and blistered by the flames of war before we rise to a due appreciation of what our Fathers did for us, a full understanding of our high duty to humanity.

With Great Britain we have already progressed far on the road that leads to Anglo-Saxon Federation. We have admitted the essential facts, only the non-essential, but practically the most difficult questions remain to be settled.

For a hundred years we have maintained on our northern border over three thousand miles of frontier unfortified. Why is it unfortified? Because both sides believe that any serious difficulty there would be unpardonable—not to say criminal—that the relations between the two nations are such that fortifications would misrepresent the attitude and wishes of both peoples and of both governments.

Admirable as that arrangement is, it solves no problems; and no thoughtful man can deny that there are problems. Two years ago we might have needed evidence of the savage extremes to which nations will go when the doctrine of sovereignty asserts itself, when the instinct of self-preservation is aroused. To-day we need no such evidence.

To fortify that frontier would be to revert to barbarism. To leave it unfortified assumes a condition which, at best, exists perilously. We are like children playing at peace and “making believe” that the Anglo-

Saxon Republic already exists. We have on neither side as yet had the courage to face the truth.

All along that far-flung frontier the identical peril that drove the Thirteen States into Federation exists but now sleeps. It is folly to say that it will never awake. If the existing division in the Anglo-Saxon world persists, it is certain to awake some day. It may awake to-morrow.

The close of this war will bring to the Anglo-Saxon nations problems almost identical with those that faced the Colonies after the Peace of Paris. Have Wilson and Hughes and their associates here, have Bryce and Grey and Asquith and Lloyd George and their associates in Great Britain, the vision and the courage of Washington and Madison, of Jay and of Hamilton? If they have, federation will come, the riddle of this Sphinx will be answered; if they have not, the Anglo-Saxon tradition which is now glorious may gradually lose its inspiration and its meaning.

The Anglo-Saxon Republic: The United English Nations. Who shall estimate its significance?

Its territory, apart from the dominions of its member Nations would be as immaterial as the realm which Jesus described when he said: "My Kingdom is not of this earth." Physically it would be greater than Rome ever was. Morally it would be master of war and of the destinies of the human race.

# THE DECLARATION OF 1776 AND THE FLAG








# THE DECLARATION OF 1776 AND THE FLAG

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AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 3, 1916

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 EN are almost ashamed to be men in these days. Governmentally they have failed so pitifully. In the larger relations of life, in the matters which really test their sanity and capacity they are being decorated for deeds which done ordinarily would take them to the gibbet or the electric chair. The one rational animal has either gone mad or was never rational except in a small way. The lower animals are rational in a small way. The world within which men are rational and efficient governmentally seems to be materially smaller than that other world within which men are clearly irrational and inefficient. Men are big enough for world-wide business; but as yet they apparently are not big enough for world-wide government.

Reason means the power to differentiate, to integrate, to deduce. Men are assumed to have these powers under all conditions. They know danger when they see it. They don't fool themselves. They know a tiger will kill; that typhoid can devastate a community; that diphtheria is the natural enemy of the child. They don't coddle and feed tigers and assume that they can be made into household pets; they look after the purity

of their drinking water and of their milk; they revere the names of the men who developed the diphtheritic antitoxin; they are struggling to find the formula which will deliver them from the terrors of infantile paralysis.

By these processes they have built the great fabric of present-day civilization. At infinite pains and cost they have covered the earth with palaces, put the product of their toil into institutions whose value depends on their permanency—whose permanency in turn depends on their safety; and at the same time they have ignored—have indeed helped to create—conditions in which lurk tigers fiercer than those with which prehistoric man struggled, in which disease and terror reign supreme. They have built splendidly and, unconsciously at first but deliberately afterward, have put under the structure a mine which was certain ultimately to obliterate in one hellish blast all the beauty and utility so slowly and painfully created.

This was not a rational process. In the larger relations of a reborn world, in handling the new governmental problems that have arisen through the elimination of time and distance, man appears to have little more intelligence than a fish.

While building the delicate and complex structure called civilization men assumed, amongst Christian peoples at least, that humanity had advanced far out of the world of savagery. They read with sympathetic wonder of the savage cruelty of the North American Indian. They tried to picture the scenes in Wyoming Valley and at Deerfield when the red man gave full play to his hate and spared neither youth nor age. Men were disposed smugly to thank God that such days were passed.

But in sheer cruelty, in fiendish, hellish, malignant disregard of all humane impulses, no massacre by the red man of America, no deed committed by any savage people at any time equals any one of a half-dozen incidents of this war. We may console ourselves, however, with the reflection that there are people—some of them non-Christian—who would scorn under any conditions to do such deeds.

What is there in the larger problems of government that makes man irrational? In business man has been as big as the opportunities of a new born world. He has sent the product of his labors over every sea. He has trusted his fellowman almost without limit. His vision has been as high as Heaven, as comprehensive as the oceans; he has been entirely rational; entirely logical; completely sane.

But in government he has been quite otherwise. A mysterious something called sovereignty has limited his action, limited his thinking, blasted his reasoning powers, and finally brought down in woeful ruin the splendid creation of his infinite labors. Between modern nations, acting as nations, the law of the jungle rules. Rational in all other matters, men are irrational in this. Driven by the creative impulses of life they toil and study, they dig and delve, they dream and create, they put their all—all their property, all their hopes, all their dreams into units of society called states, and at the same time plant the seeds of death in the very vitals of the organization, and when the day of reckoning comes they weep over the calamity and the wickedness of war.

Under the governmental relations of modern states nothing but war was possible; there was no other

answer to the riddle. Consider again how irrational the process is: as human beings men create at heavy cost the intricate and delicate fabric of modern states; as patriots the same men at the same time deliberately prepare the forces that mean ruin to that fabric, and finally themselves launch the forces of destruction against themselves. Could irrationality go further? The beasts of the field never surpassed that.

As citizens men do splendid things in times of peace; as patriots they do splendidly dramatic and heroic things in times of war. We are still disposed to think that the patriot is greater than the citizen. But doesn't that in part explain this irrationality? War is seldom the product of sane processes.

Observing the heroism of men in war William James says that we must discover the moral equivalent of war before wars can be ended. Abraham Lincoln said in his second inaugural that if the war had to "continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword \* \* \* \* so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." James sees in war something which creates heroic qualities in men. Lincoln saw in war the visible evidence of the wrath of the Almighty. The central thought in James's idea is that men's heroism and capacity for self-sacrifice can be aroused only by assault, by some deadly peril. The central thought in Lincoln's immortal utterance is the retribution which men's inherent sense of right ultimately insists on and achieves. Both are negative conceptions. War doesn't create moral heroism; it

merely calls it into action. War doesn't achieve justice; in Lincoln's gloomy and fatalistic philosophy it becomes Nemesis. Neither conception reveals affirmatively the moral possibilities of men.

The basis of modern civilization is the unit called the nation. Out of this has sprung the madness if not the cruelty of modern men. Why? And how? The life of every considerable nation goes back to a period when the world was many diameters larger than it is to-day. In the beginning distances were cruelly great. Inter-course—which ought always to have been the mother of International Understanding—was limited and difficult. Life was indeed a struggle. Heroic memories cluster about all national beginnings, and tradition—which is sometimes the mother of lies—has always busily plied its trade. The land “where the Fathers died” naturally became sacred. Governmental impact between nations took men always into a lawless and dangerous zone. By bitter experience men learned that safety lay only in preserving the fatherland at all hazards. As this impact became stronger the instinct of self-preservation more and more asserted itself. People soon came to understand that this international friction meant ultimately the survival of the strongest. Therefore to preserve the fatherland the nation must itself become strong: strong in numbers, strong in wealth, strong in territory, strong in armies, strong in navies. Then came the miracles of modern science. The world shrunk almost in a night from a huge sphere covered by unexplored continents inhabited by monsters, to a spinning speck where time meant nothing in intercourse and distance substantially disappeared. The new conditions did not clarify, but on the contrary

complicated the old problems by crowding the nations still closer together, without eliminating any of the old fears and prejudices. The world shrunk, but its problems grew.

We sometimes speak of a people, to whom the opportunity of self-government has come, as being unfit for it, not "up to" it, unable to grasp its meaning and likely therefore to misuse opportunity and destroy themselves. That observation can be applied to the entire modern world, to the whole problem of the relations of the great powers. It explains the ruin of Europe and the cataclysm which has directly or indirectly involved all civilization.

Our civilization, based on separate sovereignties each claiming and maintaining exclusive and unlimited authority over its own people, was not "up to" the demands of a world compacted by steam and electricity. Seven of the eight great powers have fallen into international anarchy from exactly the same causes that have ruined Mexico. The great opportunity came, but the Powers were unable to shake off the barbarism of nationality, unwilling to rise into the larger world of internationality. They have failed, as utterly as Mexico has, to meet opportunity. The morality of their present position is no better than that of Mexico.

The ends of the earth have fallen together. The conditions that necessarily made men misunderstand each other, fear each other, and periodically kill each other, have passed away. But while the people as citizens know this the people as patriots do not, and so the killing goes on, goes on as never before.

Internationalism, Brotherhood—call it what you will—beckons to us. It is the new Heaven and the



New Earth; it should be to the civilized nations what the great charter of government produced in Independence Hall in 1787 became to the Thirteen American States. But nationality rooted deep in tradition and institutionalism fetters the world. It will not easily yield. It is entrenched behind every crown, every rule of caste, every army, even behind the integrity of democratic states. It flaunts the flag, symbol of its bitter experiences and heroic memories, in the faces of the people; the people thrill to its call and gladly go out to die by millions. No other spectacle so cruel and humiliating has ever disfigured this fair earth; no such failure has damned humanity since it forfeited Paradise.

We know that humanity itself, with all its faults, is not an aggregation of bloodthirstiness. We know that the people do not want to commit wholesale murder. They want to be left alone to solve the ordinary problems of life, which are difficult enough. They hate war. Naturally they do not believe that their civilized neighbors uninfluenced want to wrong them. But when a certain call issues they act unquestioningly. The flag has long been the call to battle, the old tribal symbol, the call of the clan. It is still the appealing evidence of our provincialism in government—the refuge of politicians as well as of Kings, Kaisers and Czars. But isn't it coming rapidly to be something larger and finer than that? What is it that grips your heart when you see the flag ripple in the sunlight? What is it that makes your blood leap when you hear it rustle in the breeze? Is it the desire to kill your fellow-men? Certainly not. Is it greed or ambition or pride or a disregard of the rights of other human beings? In a democracy again certainly not. Can you analyze

it? There isn't anything just like it. It can, in a moment, transform a gentle, shrinking woman into a Joan of Arc. It can make a ne'er-do-well into a hero. It can stir depths in a man whose existence he did not suspect. The impulse so aroused is not destructive, not negative, it is positive: it is aroused by the flag but it is greater than the flag. In these days and in this Country the flag touches something in the soul that is not limited, not selfish, something greater than patriotism, something that rises to the level of consciousness only when the blood leaps and the eyes moisten.

The world will never be really rational and wars will never end until these mysterious qualities emerge fully, in response to a positive appeal. They can be aroused but not interpreted by the flag; they can be stirred but not inspired by fear. War gives only a picture of man's heroic capacity perverted and misapplied. The great problems of society cannot be solved by negation and fear.

Progress toward better standards has been made. Except in the wars of the Crusades when religious enthusiasm drove men into affirmative action for what they believed to be a holy cause, and except in the wars of Napoleon or others of his sort when it was in effect frankly admitted that conquest alone was aimed at, wars in modern times professedly at least have been fought defensively. Neither side in Europe admits that it wanted war on August 1, 1914, or that it began the war. Each side has been busy for two years trying to prove that it did not begin the war and that it is fighting defensively for existence; and in the latter claim at least both sides are right.

Out of the blind groping of men has at last been evolved a *world-opinion* such that no nation now dares to begin a war of clear aggression, and admit that purpose. This marks a tremendous advance; it indicates the birth ultimately of a controlling world opinion.

One of the most potent forces—perhaps the most potent—in the creation of this world-opinion has been this government and its history for a hundred and twenty-eight years. Territorially limited—as of course it had to be—it nevertheless rests upon principles which are the real source of the powerful emotions evoked by the fluttering flag. The Declaration of Independence laid down the doctrine of individual inalienable rights. This was made vital in the Federal Constitution and was an entirely new thing in government.

Our Federal Constitution was created by the sovereign acts of individual citizens. That Constitution affirmatively defines certain inalienable individual rights and negatively denies further existence to certain governmental practices and says in effect—"These affirmations and prohibitions may not be disturbed even by majorities." Having declared these principles the fathers created a great Court with power to protect them, with power to neutralize any legislative attack on them. This was the first concrete governmental expression of the doctrine that sovereignty dwells in the individual, that states are mere instrumentalities for the promotion of men's happiness, that the right to life, to liberty, and to property, are inherent and not to be alienated by any external authority whatever.

Given the belief that sovereignty dwells in the individual and not primarily in the state, given the belief that every individual sovereign has certain rights which

no majority may invade, and all that is lacking to end war is courage, vision and great leadership—such as our fathers had in 1788. The gradual extinction of the savage fears aroused by separate sovereignties would follow. The superstition that for centuries has sustained government by Divine Right or by some right other than man's individual, inalienable right would pass. Between two peoples, between any number of peoples, so believing war would at once become utterly unnatural. Wherever the doctrine of inalienable rights was really adhered to war would become a crime without palliation. The irrationality, the unnatural and artificially created fear which have heretofore partially explained the savage conduct of men would no longer exist. With this condition would come a controlling appeal to the morally heroic qualities of man and the flag would become the symbol not of a sovereignty but of humanity.

The logic of our Declaration of Independence was probably not fully appreciated even by the men who signed it. The Declaration was the explanation, the justification of what the Colonies were about to do. They were about to set up a new government—although when the Declaration was issued they were by no means prepared to set up an effective government—and they justified what they were about to do by a declaration of principles which asserted that *all* men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. They thereby affirmed—whether they knew it or not—that sovereignty as a thing apart from the individual, had served its purpose and must be superseded by something broader. They established a government a few years later as nearly

consistent with those declarations as the times permitted. The new State was, and had to be, in essential conflict with the doctrines which its founders professed. The doctrine of inalienable rights and the practices of sovereignty were as irreconcilable then as they are now. We have followed that contradictory program as closely as we could since 1789. We have welcomed the restless and oppressed of nearly all the earth—including many who do not understand our doctrine or comprehend our ideals. We have spread this doctrine from ocean to ocean. There are now forty-eight stars in the blue field of our flag instead of thirteen. Expansion along those lines has seemingly reached its limit and, if the principles of our Declaration are to be further applied, other Nations must governmentally subscribe to our creed.

The inalienable rights of man asserted in the Declaration and embodied in the Constitution are now directly attacked by the necessities of a civilization based on separate and practically unrelated sovereign units, a condition which flatly contradicts the fundamentals of our faith, and paradoxical as it sounds, we are and as the world is organized must remain a party to the attack.

Here, then, is exactly the problem of the world.

Where does sovereignty rest?

Few can be found in any democratic country who will admit that it rests with certain families especially selected by Divine Favor. Some may be found who believe that it rests in the collective voice of a democracy as a thing apart from the individual members of that democracy. Most of us believe that it lies in the individual, is inalienable, and that it carries certain



rights which may not be invaded either by King or Demos.

If that Doctrine be sound it means a democracy of humanity; it means the end of Kingcraft, the end of sovereignty as now understood and enforced.

In spite of the barriers, natural and artificial, which now divide humanity into hostile camps, business has done what the Declaration of Independence professed, what governments can do only in a limited way; it has created a democracy of humanity; it has given the principles of our Declaration a broader application than that made by the government erected on the Declaration. It has demonstrated that it is practicable to enforce these principles—even across the frontiers of sovereign states.

Business rests, as our government does, on a declaration of principles which are true everywhere; but business unlike our government, has applied them everywhere. Modern states have governmentally limited the activities of individual sovereignty within national boundaries, but business has made a world-wide demonstration of this world-wide principle; it has shown that men can work together without fear and with entire equity, whatever their race, whatever their creed, whatever their allegiance, and can, but not without peril, so work even in times of war.

Let us not deceive ourselves; these are reactionary days. By what may be called a curious atavistic impulse men are everywhere reacting toward their racial origins. The call of the blood seems stronger than national fealty. The doctrine of sovereignty by Divine Right, or the doctrine that sovereignty dwells in the state, is working its own destruction. Men



intuitively understand that this doctrine means the ultimate triumph of force, the conquest of the world by whoever or whatever is finally the strongest. Faced with this danger the call of the blood becomes stronger than the call of the flag. The negative appeal begins to fail. Men recoil from the anarchy that exists in international affairs and grasp at whatever seems to promise safety; they return politically to the faith of their childhood, the faith of their fathers, just as men frequently do religiously when age or disorder seizes their bodies.

Disorder has governmentally seized the whole world. Nationality has reached the limit of its cycle; it has in twenty-six months brought the world enough woe to damn its claims to further consideration. No compromise is possible. Sovereignty by right of the state or by Divine Right cannot compromise. Sovereignty through individual, inalienable rights can compromise, reconstruct, rearrange. It indeed eliminates the necessity for compromise. Under that doctrine each man must recognize the inalienable rights of every other man. That there should be as there undoubtedly is an intuitive reaction, under existing conditions, toward the doctrine of inalienable, individual rights is natural and hopeful. It represents recoil from wholesale murder; from the hideous failure of the present system; from the irrational brutality of force from the breakdown of the existing order. That the doctrine of sovereignty has broken down, that it has led the world to a shambles, that it has turned civilization back to chaos and wiped out in two years the material, moral, and spiritual achievements of many years, no one can fairly deny. This present reaction represents an instinctive call for

something very near to revolution. Men have had enough of this irrationality, enough of murder, enough of feeding young men to cannon and women to The Beast. Nationality can now give men nothing to justify such a price and nationality so preserved is forever open to the same perils. To maintain itself it must forever re-commit the same crimes.

The flag—our flag—has always appealed to something bigger, broader, and more rational than mere nationality, to something finer than patriotism: it has appealed to the soul; it has reflected a sunlight that shines on no savagery; it has in its rustlings whispered of man's longing for justice. It represents to-day the noblest effort yet made to establish human rights; because of the sincerity and nobility of that effort, because of the call it has issued and the haven it has offered, the stars and stripes have become not merely the emblem of a great democracy but the prophecy of a world democracy. Nations at war are savages for exactly the same reasons that men were individually savages until they learned a better way. Through the establishment of orderly society men grudgingly gave up some so-called individual freedom, but they gained infinitely thereby, and later discovered that they had surrendered nothing of value. The subordination of existing nations to the rule of a higher law will as certainly limit war as laws against duelling have limited murder by that brutal and illogical process. Sovereignty, as the nations now assert it, rests on the international code *duello*. Diplomacy is the hypocritical negotiations between seconds, the measuring of distances, the choosing of positions and of weapons. War is the product of the identical irrationality that in

strict conformity with the code snuffed out the life of Alexander Hamilton. The verdicts of war are not infrequently as monstrous as that verdict was.

Beyond our frontiers—now that our geographic limits are fixed we are constantly in contact with all considerable nations—the existing rules of sovereignty demand that we adhere to this savage code. All its rules are in full operation. We are as mad as any. The seconds are delivering the usual notes; each side is quibbling over questions of honor. Hating war, agonizing over the peril that threatens all we own, all we are, all we hope to be, we find ourselves struggling helplessly with the intricacies of a program as irrational in its processes, as bloody in its significance, as it was in the era of the cave-man when indeed it was born.

Two years ago Secretary Franklin K. Lane called the flag "The mystery of the men who do without knowing why". All up the weary distance from a cave to a palace men have not fully known why. But a Divine Something has driven them on. They have followed the flag. They have built painfully and then repeatedly had to modify in part what they had built lest it turn and destroy them. They have had a thousand flags and changed them all because none fully explained the mystery.

You love your flag because you love life, because that flag in some way expresses your ideals and your dreams. You love your country because it exalts life, because it protects life and liberty and when in any particular it fails, you are humiliated and ashamed.

But your demand that government protect your life and your liberty does not imply a savage disregard of

other men's rights and liberties, and does not call for the insanity named War.

Your life and your property are safe and your liberty secure only as far as law exists and is enforced. The flag symbolizes the day when law, born of the principles of the Declaration, shall supersede international lawlessness.

I greet you not as patriots but as business men and citizens and therefore as true protagonists of a larger democracy,—a democracy whose flag has not yet been designed: a flag whose field must be so designed that, like the field of our national flag, it shall by its expanding symbolism register the triumphs of expanding democracy, until within it, like a new Bow of Promise, will ultimately stand the assurance that the principles of the Declaration of 1776 have become vital internationally as well as nationally and that men at last are governmentally sane.

## NINETEEN SEVENTEEN AND PEACE

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FROM THE NYLIC AGENTS' BULLETIN, DEC. 23, 1916

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**F**OR the third successive year, Christmas finds the greater portion of the Christian world—and much of the non-Christian—fighting, hating, bleeding and dying. The toll in casualties and in human lives that has been paid to ignorance, ambition, covetousness, misunderstanding and fear now approximates in number the entire population of the Northern States at the time of our Civil War, and in treasure it exceeds the total wealth of those States at that time by 400%. More men are under arms in Europe now than the entire population of these United States fifty years ago.

Great Britain alone has spent more money since August 1, 1914, than the entire estimated wealth of this country in 1860. All the belligerents have relatively done as much. If the war lasts on the present scale through 1917, the States of Europe will have increased *national debts alone* by a sum equal to the entire wealth of this country in 1900.

These are supreme sacrifices and should be for a supreme issue. Governments cannot finally justify such struggles and sacrifices by pleading misunderstandings. That plea would indicate that statesmen, after all, are not rational; and they are not rational—they are now mad with fear or ambition or both. Honest, gentle,

kindly—the people have been caught in the intricacies and limitations of a social and governmental plan which has driven them mad also. If this war shall forever banish that madness it may be worth all its costs.

When we get to the hearts of men we find no such differences as this war indicates. Men differ in education, in self-respect, in ideals; their skins are not all of the same color and they do not all respond to the same moral standards; but take them when acting normally, away from the shadow of fear, away from the pressure of some so-called necessity, and they are much alike the world over. Shylock, speaking for the Jew, expressed the voice of every section of humanity when he said—

“Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?”

And on the other hand, Shylock, speaking for institutionalism, for ignorance and fear, expresses the prejudices of men when he says—

“I hate him for he is a Christian.”

This line gives us a glimpse of the differences that so bitterly divide men. There are others—many others. But at bottom all these differences are alike; all hark back to savagery, all teach men that they must hate because others hate them, that they must plot against others because others plot to take away their lives, their liberties and their property.



These obsessions grow into institutions, into States which limit men's vision, emphasize their differences, minimize their similarities, cultivate their hates—until finally the forces of ignorance and fear get beyond control and men rush out with less reason than the beasts of the field and commit such atrocities as now shame the earth.

How many of the great institutions of the world are as broad as the similarities and common interests of men? How many make an appeal that is broader than race or color or religion or geographic limitations?

Show me one—except Life Insurance—that doesn't stop at some frontier, at some interpretation of revelation and say—

“Everything beyond this is dangerous and wicked and we must stand against it to the death.”

Show me one!

I do not say that boastfully, but sadly. I am proud, as you are, that there is no blood on the hands of Life Insurance; that in a world at war it has preached peace; that in days of monstrous cruelty and hatred it has worked to relieve the sufferings of humanity whether Jew or Gentile, Christian or Pagan. It has gone on demonstrating that all men can work together even when they are so controlled by fear that they kill each other.

Life Insurance does not hold that conception of Deity which puts Him into the fighting ranks of either side in this or any war. It holds to the conception which made the Heavenly Host chant to the shepherds while they watched their flocks by night—

“On Earth Peace; Good Will Toward Men.”


May 1917 bring the world Peace—Peace born of the knowledge that humanity is greater than any state, that human life is the supreme, the only value.

## “THE EVIL THAT MEN DO LIVES AFTER THEM”

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AN AFTER DINNER RESPONSE  
BEFORE THE CANADIAN SOCIETY, HOTEL BILTMORE, NEW YORK,  
JANUARY 27, 1917

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HE existing division in what is generally called the Anglo-Saxon world was brought about by the stupidity of certain English Ministers of State and the folly of an English King who was not mentally responsible.

“The evil that men do” truly “lives after them”.

No American citizen has any regret for any specific thing done by the Fathers from the Boston Tea Party to Yorktown. On the contrary, that period is not only our heroic age and the reservoir from which we draw unending inspiration, but it is the inspiration of men all over the world who resist tyrants and are ready to make the supreme sacrifice for human rights.

Viewed from the standpoint of 1917 almost a century and a half after these evil forces brought on the issue which created the schism there is room for regrets and no true lover of the Anglo-Saxon ideal is ashamed or afraid to express those regrets.

Successful revolutions seldom need justification. Usually the power against which revolution has struck justified later on the evil qualities which the revolutionists charged. Seldom has the offending power, the

Mother country, reformed itself, adopted in large measure the ideals of the rebels and even surpassed them in the general application of those ideals to itself and to large sections of humanity.

So completely did Great Britain repudiate the leadership which drove the colonies into revolt, so really democratic did she become that since the war of 1812 the two great powers of the Anglo-Saxon world have been not enemies but rivals in the advancement of human liberty; one gradually absorbing a vast continent through the erection of free commonwealths peopled by free men who came freely from all over the world; the other making her kingdom the sea and carrying to all corners of her waterbound Empire the ideals of human rights which earlier her King and Ministers so wickedly denied our Fathers. Together the two to-day surpass all the other great powers of the earth combined in population, in trade, in territory, in wealth. Technically they are divided, but in their aspirations, in their institutions, in their language, in their literature, in their traditions, in their standards of living, in short in all the conditions which justify free government and in the ideals which give them vitality, they are substantially one. In their continued integrity and in their co-operation lie the hopes of democracy. If this Company representing as it does all the men who fought at Bunker Hill and all the men who fought at Quebec and all the men who fought at Plattsburg should, as I venture now to do, express the fervent hope that at no distant date these great kindred powers shall enter into some federated relation which will make any serious difference between them hereafter as impossible as serious differences now

are between New York and Massachusetts, we shall on neither side be unpatriotic. That the United States and Canada in spite of some serious misunderstandings in the past, in spite of interests and ambitions that have clashed, should now find themselves so nearly one in purpose and sympathy is not strange. They are intimately related in their origin, history and development. Canada even after it became British extended as far south as the Ohio River. Before Canada became finally British—which was only sixteen years prior to our Declaration of Independence—she had been almost continually French, and there are few pages of history so crammed with romance as those which imperfectly record the heroic labors of the French in the wars between France and Great Britain for the possession of the continent. The colonies to the south had a part in the struggle which did not end until 1760. Again in their fight for independence the Colonies were by no means unanimous. The Tories who were loyal to the crown made up an appreciable per cent. of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. Between them and the followers of Washington and Hamilton there was feud-war of the cruelest kind. The patriots confiscated the property of the Tories and hunted them down with the cruelty that such conditions have historically always developed. Forty thousand Tory inhabitants of the Colonies fled to Canada—largely to Nova Scotia. Naturally as they fled from what they considered gross injustice and cruelty they cherished bitter animosities against their neighbors.

As a result of this and other migrations large numbers of the inhabitants of Canada to-day, including some holding high positions in the government, are fully

eligible to membership in the New England Society of New York. In the lapse of time the descendants of these exiled Loyalists returned to this country and the genealogy of no inconsiderable portion of the membership of this Society will lead from here back to Canada and again return in the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century to Cape Cod and the lower reaches of the Hudson River. Thousands of Canadians fought on the Union side in our great Civil War. Later on many other thousands migrated to this country and became American Citizens.

In very recent times hundreds of thousands of the best citizenship of our Middle West, themselves remote descendants of the pioneers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, have gone into the Canadian Northwest, become citizens of Canada, and are to-night, with thousands of others who are still American citizens, defending the allied lines in Flanders.

Time has softened animosities and re-awakened heroic memories. The call of the blood has finally triumphed. A frontier cuts the lines of influence that radiate north and west from Plymouth Rock, and south and west from the Plains of Abraham, but so powerful is the sense of a common purpose that along that frontier for over 3,000 miles there is neither gun nor battleship, and if that condition ever changes the race to which we belong will somewhere have been betrayed.

If therefore the descendants of both sides, in the issues raised in 1775, should now clasp hands, not merely because they have learned to respect each other, but because they have mutually come to recognize a common purpose from the beginning and to

honor a common ancestry,—who shall say that they are other than true Anglo-Saxons and true patriots?

Our forebears were right because they resisted tyrants; that resistance in large measure brought Canada her freedom; it also helped to give Englishmen their democracy. Whether the Tories were loyal to the crown because they had a clearer vision than the other Colonists, because they knew that the heart of Great Britain was sound and that liberty still lived there and would triumph, I don't know. In passing I am obliged to say I doubt it; but in any event driven in the name of liberty out of the Thirteen Colonies, they have north of us helped to erect a new nation as devoted to the principles of 1776 as we are; they have produced a people as brave, as generous, as capable, as true to Anglo-Saxon ideals as any branch of the Anglo-Saxon race. They command our unstinted admiration because they and the men of Australia and New Zealand and South Africa have heard the call that John Buttrick and his men heard at Lexington Common, and are answering it as superbly.

None of these Dominion men was obliged to enter this war. Some very good reasons could have been advanced why they should not. There was one very great reason. None of these young nations had any voice in Great Britain's Foreign Office. They were not consulted when the Mother country made her great decision in 1914. They had their own governments and between them and England the connection was small and useful and apparently void of offense to free men. Canada for example watched with much of the curiosity of a bystander the diplomatic issues now and then raised in Europe, such as—the Fashoda



incident, the crises in Morocco and the Conference at Algeciras. I doubt if even the Boer War, in which Canada unhesitatingly took part, brought home to Canadians their true status or lack of status in the Empire. But now Canada understands that while with her fellow members of the Empire she is giving her sons and her money as heroically as any people ever did, she is something less than a nation. Nevertheless with a generosity that is quixotic she is giving her all and is willing to wait for exact justice from the great Mother, in the post-bellum readjustments.

As an Anglo-Saxon nothing is clearer to me than this: The great questions of peace and war will never again be settled for Canada and her sister free Dominions by a Parliament which represents the British Isles only. The new head of the British government, David Lloyd George, has already said that new and closer relations with the Dominion governments will follow the coming of peace. He doubtless understands, as the world generally does, that while Canada believes she is fighting for human liberty, she knows that she is fighting for her rightful place in the Empire.

Whether it will be possible to form a League of Nations after this war through which the future peace of the world can be assured is now in the thoughts of every serious-minded man. Within recent days the idea has been discussed by the men who lead the governments of all the great Powers, and by none has it been more nobly stated than by our own President. The task will be colossal. The forces that will have to be controlled are rooted deep in religious bigotry, in racial hatreds, in profound ignorance, in instinctive fears. The storm center of the world is located not

far from the spot where the Aryan race had its birth where man himself is supposed first to have appeared. But as we move to the West the differences that sprang out of these ancient problems, their hates, their fears, their real kings and their sham kings have less and less significance, until we finally emerge into the blessed light of the sun of liberty that shines on all the land from the Rio Grande to the North Pole.

But whether or not such a league is now possible there is a League—no, not a League, a Federation—quite possible of formation (if Anglo-Saxon men have not lost the power of generalization and deduction) which would go far toward achieving the end sought, if indeed it would not ultimately and more surely achieve it; and that is a Federation of all the English speaking nations of the world. Never since governments began has there been an Empire to compare with the countries now controlled by Anglo-Saxon ideals. Such animosities as were born a hundred and forty years ago have substantially died out during the century of peace that has existed between the two great units. Measured westward from the meridian of Greenwich, this Empire covers three-quarters of the distance round the earth and reaches, sweeping northeast to southwest, from pole to pole. It encircles the two great oceans of the world, includes almost solidly two continents and has set the light of its liberty burning steadily around the globe. It is substantially one in speech, in law, in literature, in forms of government. Its people love liberty and are willing at all times to fight for it. It is still divided because of the work of ministers whose very names Great Britain would like to forget, and of a King who is remembered

chiefly because he is an example of what an English King ought not to be. Their evil deeds survive.

But if Anglo-Saxons have always been brave enough to revolt and fight for their rights, can it be that they are not big enough when the hour strikes to unite for the same purpose? Is their pride greater than their convictions? Was their constructive capacity exhausted with the great Union created in 1789?

The force that stands to-day against a Federation of the Anglo-Saxon world is the same false pride that controlled George Clinton when he fought Alexander Hamilton all through the Summer of 1788 and so nearly kept this State out of the Union. By the narrowest of margins Hamilton won; but he won because his logic had in it the force of Thor's hammer, because his speech had in it a Divine eloquence.

In this struggle between the sovereignties of Europe there is a logic more compelling than Hamilton's; it beats upon us with the power of thunderbolts. It says to the Anglo-Saxon world—

"Federate! Federate and neutralize the evil wrought by King George III and his ministers. Federate because you are all democratic and frontiers are the enemy of democracy. Federate because the dogma of sovereignty must never again be permitted to crucify humanity. Federate because that way lies peace."

Let the swelling millions of our common race pray for a greater Washington and a greater Hamilton and a greater Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and when they reappear, as they must if the Anglo-Saxon ideal is to survive, let us put aside our false pride and our fears and follow them.

# LIFE INSURANCE AS A VOCATION

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AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE  
STUDENTS OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.,  
FEBRUARY 15, 1917

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**I** COULD as well have said "Life Insurance as a Profession". Vocationally defined "Life insurance is the application of special knowledge to the benefit of others rather than to one's self". I know no better definition than that of the qualities which lift any daily effort out of the hum-drum of bread and butter and entitle them to be rated as professional.

The man whose academic years have been spent in this atmosphere must seek in selecting his life work something which reasonably meets the current demands of living and at the same time appeals to his imagination.

No vocation can appeal to the well-balanced mind and to the imagination which does not in some fashion respond to the peculiar conditions of the times. These are strange times. You who leave college this year will begin work in a very strange world.

The world of 1917 is not the world of 1914 nor the world of any previous epoch. The changes from August 1, 1914, to a stabilized world, following this war, may, indeed probably will, be as tremendous as those which separate the fossils of Lake Florissant, Colorado, and

the life of the Rocky Mountains of to-day—spanning a period of countless years.

Between 1914 and 1917 something prodigious happened. Hostile forces developed through centuries of struggle came into conflict. Institutionalism with its dogmatic affirmations clashed with institutionalism. Differing theories of government and of human rights came to grips. In society and government prodigious forces stirred and changed the social geography of the world, sinking the Atlantis of 1914 and lifting out of the ooze a new continent. To state the conditions a little more simply let us change the analogy:

Mary Shelley made her hero Frankenstein construct the physical body of a man in his laboratory hoping that like Prometheus he could bring to it the divine spark of life and that when life came his creation, being free of mortal ills, would be immortal. Instead, with life, Frankenstein's creature became a monster which relentlessly pursued and destroyed its creator.

The peoples of the world in 1914 had created a wonderful civilization based on separate, substantially unrelated units called nations, each asserting unlimited and unconditioned sovereignty over its own territory and people and a not too clearly defined authority over its people and their property when within other sovereignties. The nations in turn, like Frankenstein, tried to create another state out of the necessary impact between governmentally unrelated units. They put the parts together as Frankenstein did and hoped as he did that in some way they might bring down from Heaven the vital spark of peace. They called the product International Law; but it was no more Law than Frankenstein's creation was a man. Then sud-

denly, on August 1, 1914, this law that was not law but potential anarchy asserted itself and became real anarchy, became a monster which, like Frankenstein's creation, is relentlessly destroying its creator. When Frankenstein perished his monstrous creation passed away. When the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty passes, when that Frankenstein is succeeded by the doctrine that human life is the only real value in the world, the monster which it created, called International Law, will pass away also.

Whether you would have it so or not you are already literally projected into the struggle which centres around this problem. The existing struggle will never end—just as no man can place its beginning—but it will in the span of your lives bring in very definite results. You will—or you may—work in an inspiring age. You will be on the frontiers of human hopes, or at least you can be. Whether you are or not, whether you do a strong man's part or not, will to no small extent depend on the vision that lies in your vocation. If your vocation has vision you will develop vision. If your profession is in sympathy with the spirit of the age, you will understand its problems. It is still quite possible for men, yes for educated men, to live like swine. It will be possible for you to go through life successful and materially rich without knowing or caring what the condition of this struggle is or what it portends.

The world is already reacting to the challenge which these conditions have issued. Men were never so great and never so small as they are to-day; never so kind and never so cruel; never so generous and never so mean; never so capable and never so incapable;



never so rational and never so mad. The average day laborer has a wider knowledge of the world day by day than the College President of a century ago had. The average man has a clearer knowledge of the forces that lie back of current international questions than most of the statesmen had who struggled with the problems of statecraft in 1817. Knowledge has marvelously expanded and the physical world has marvelously shrunk. All this makes it desirable that the college man should question the old professions and study the new ones before making his choice.

What will be found in the bottom of the crucible of European civilization when the fierce flame of battle has died away? Will it be sanity or more madness? Will it be nationality or humanity, a world-citizenship or more so-called patriotism? In completeness probably neither. But I am one of those who believe that while a world-democracy is not immediately attainable, out of this ruin and madness the people will emerge with a new realization of their power, with a broader comprehension of their interdependence, with a fuller understanding of the fact that in a world as small as this world now is, nationality asserting the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty, is an anachronism, whether it bases its several claims to power on Divine Right or on the suffrage of a people theoretically free. Republics asserting the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty are about as grave a menace to the peace of the world as autocracies. The reform that will remove this menace must be born of the people, of a consciousness that the thing of supreme value is human life. Great reforms in society are no longer imposed from without. Nations are no longer baptized by force.

It is still bitterly true that in the incidents of colossal world struggles nations may be raped and the final answer to the questions which spring out of international lawlessness is still sheer force. But dreadful as these facts are we must believe that they are fugitive and do little more than touch the deep currents of the people's thinking. Governments may have reacted to medievalism but the people have not. Religious reforms and civic reforms may and sometimes do reach sudden and dramatic climaxes but in the Anglo-Saxon world the great reform finally comes because the idea has long been gestating in the lives and work of the people.

Nothing is therefore so important as what the individual units of a nation do and think day by day. Nothing will be so important to you as what you do and think day by day. If your chosen work comes finally to have no significance except a living or material success be sure you have chosen unwisely, and you are in a fair way to lose your own soul.

I do not forget that I am speaking to educated men, to men who have been fortunate. The mass of men are not equally fortunate. Nevertheless we are all, educated and half-educated, in one boat together and a vocation or profession which leads educated men to use their confessed advantage for selfish purposes merely, which tends to put them in a class apart, which teaches them to forget that education is even more an obligation than an asset, is not the soundest of vocations and cannot lead to the highest usefulness.

The attainment of success, material success, money, will necessarily be the immediate purpose of most of you. In these days competition is keen and your im-

mediate goal will not be instantly or easily reached. The danger lies in this: Under the stress of competition you may go so deeply into your vocation or profession that you will be strongly bound by its limitations; that indeed is likely. Later in life, these limitations may narrow your outlook and deaden your sympathies. You may be rated by men as a distinct success at forty and at sixty-five know in your own soul that you have been a failure.

Without analyzing other professions, without pointing out their limitations, I invite your attention to Life Insurance as a Profession, as a vocation, as a career, because in its very fundamentals it is truly democratic, because the matter of its business is human life—the only value in the world—the thing that gives all other things value, because it knows no creeds or frontiers, because it knows no hates or fears, and because it is at the same time so intimately related to the ordinary professions and vocations that in its service you may be a great lawyer, a great physician, a great financier, a great scientist, a great salesman, a great executive, a great sociologist. Nothing human is foreign to it. But, more than that, in life insurance you cannot be merely a great lawyer or a great financier or a great salesman or a great executive; you can be that, but if you are you must at the same time be something more. All these professions and vocations are included in the activities of life insurance, but each, in that service, definitely and scientifically goes on to a higher purpose which is the solidarity of human life, the co-ordination of its units, which acting separately are helpless even hostile, but acting co-operatively come to possess a power like that of the tiny wires in the cables of a great

bridge—able to support the orderly traffic of a nation. This is only another way of saying that Life Insurance, itself a science, leads directly to the greatest of all the sciences—the science of society.

And what is the fundamental condition of society now? Essential savagery! As a part of the solar system this earth is a unit and a relatively small unit, but governmentally and sociologically its conditions suggest the chaos that would follow if between the planets from Neptune to Mercury the centrifugal force of matter suddenly ceased to operate. The eight planets separated by almost infinite distance and held apart by the unchanging laws of matter are not more strange to each other than the eight great powers have been, standing rigidly on the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty and until recently separated by barriers which to the spread of human understanding and sympathy were a hindrance comparable with the ether in inter-planetary understanding. Into the shining infinities of the ether the human voice is beginning to penetrate. No voice of reason has ever been able to penetrate the blind walls of sovereignty. Within fifty years science, business and the natural impulses of the people have delivered some sturdy blows against these barriers and have almost seemed to make breaches in them; but sovereignty as such has heard nothing, seen nothing, learned nothing. Through increasing intercourse amongst the people centripetal forces had in 1914 so driven the nations together that either the citizen or the patriot had to yield. As usual the patriot won and the eight separate civic worlds scattered over the face of this particular planet have now fallen together with a crash as clearly epoch-making as the

catastrophe would be if Neptune and Uranus fell against Jupiter, crashed against Saturn, and then gathered up the Earth, Venus, Mars and Mercury in their flight into the Sun. The doctrine of sovereignty was as certain to bring the eight great civic units of the world into fearful collision when science eliminated time and distance, as the centripetal force of matter would be certain to smash up the universe if the centrifugal force of matter suddenly ceased to function. Exactly that is happening now. The chaos, the formlessness, the darkness which rested on the deep, were no more vivid to the people who produced the Book of Genesis than they are to us to-day on the Eastern Atlantic and the North Sea. The creative fiat that shall sound over the face of these waters and say "Let there be Light," must be the voice of the people, speaking as the people, and not the voice of either autocratic or democratic sovereignty; it must be the voice of real democracy, a democracy which within the realms of its own professions at least shall have no sovereign frontiers.

Such is the condition of society and such are its problems. No more terrible, no more appealing, no more inspiring period of history has yet been recorded.

Our great problem is the democratization of the world and that can never be achieved until the existing theories of sovereignty are abandoned. Democracy is now a house divided against itself. Its principles are in theory as broad as humanity. We said so in the Declaration of Independence—asserting that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Between States professing these principles there should never be war, there could



never be war if these principles were lived up to. There is justification perhaps for war between democratic and non-democratic peoples. They do not speak the same political language and a democracy has an unquestioned right to defend itself. But all democratic states speak the same political language, they profess the same principles, they cherish the same ideals, the sources of their sovereignty are the same. In order to create a civic organization they must have nominal frontiers, but their principles as between democracies should not be abandoned at those frontiers. The model for the democracy of the world is our Federal Government. The original states in 1776 had frontiers in the sovereign sense, but those frontiers had to be given up—in that sense—in order to make the federated states really democratic. They gave up nothing but false pride when they followed the Declaration of 1776 and formed the Union. Each Colony entering the Federal Union preserved its identity and instead of losing authority took on a vastly increased power. The next State that enters this Union will surrender nothing of value; on the contrary it will preserve its identity and acquire a voice in the government of forty-eight other States. It will surrender only the sovereign right to resort to savagery in future relations with its neighbors.

Until the Democratic States of the world form such a Federation, Democracy—now a house divided against itself—will be untrue to its own professions, will always be in danger and likely to be as blood guilty through war as other states which do not profess its faith.

Before pointing out how wonderfully, almost singularly, Life Insurance as a sociological force forwards



the solution of that great problem, let us consider its practical power.

In its practical and material relations Life Insurance introduces you to a world which represents one of the largest single accumulations of value earned, saved, set aside for a constructive purpose and expressed in terms of money and securities ever known to organized society.

A few statistics will be informing:

On January 30, 1916, the total deposits in the Savings Banks of the United States, representing 10,-686,000 depositors, was..... \$4,997,000,000

The total deposits of the Trust Companies on the same date was..... 6,247,000,000

The total time and demand deposits in National Banks was..... 8,500,000,000

The total outstanding bonds and stocks of all the Railroads in the United States, less bonds and stocks owned by such roads, was 15,700,000,000

The total assets of 235 American level premium Life Insurance Companies on the 31st of December, 1915, was..... 5,200,000,000

This total is expressed through forty-seven million contracts.

The above figures as to Savings Banks, Trust Companies and National Banks are probably abnormal. They include the tremendous increase in deposits made within two years as a result of existing war conditions.

The corresponding figures on the 30th of June, 1914, would be as follows:

Savings Banks.....	\$4,936,000,000
Trust Companies.....	4,347,000,000
National Banks.....	6,268,000,000

Life Insurance—level premium, scientifically constructed life insurance has outstanding contracts amounting to \$23,200,000,000 in all. Compared with Savings Banks, Trust Companies and National Banks, life insurance in its accumulations of money stands in normal times ahead of the first two and at the present time ahead of the first. As a holder of contracts that are calculated powerfully to affect the people in the future, it surpasses all the railroads combined by several billion dollars. These Railroad Stocks and Bonds are much less dependable than the contracts of life insurance, because Stocks are not a promise to pay at all and frequently do not represent a corresponding investment; Railroad Bonds do not generally carry any sinking fund provision. American life insurance stands pledged to pay and will ultimately pay to the holders of its contracts a sum greater than the combined deposits of savings banks, trust companies and national banks.

The opportunity here is obvious:—for the lawyer, for the salesman, for the financier, for the executive, for the physician, for the sociologist. This world of life insurance is larger than the world of any single group cited, because it includes them all and gives all an added significance. Such reflections however bring us only to the threshold of what Life Insurance means.

Statistics are sometimes mere statements of relatively unimportant facts, dead things; sometimes they

are alive, sometimes they pulsate with hope and sometimes prophecy shines through them.

Life Insurance statistics are living things. The social superiority of Life Insurance is only partially expressed by these contrasted totals.

A million dollars covered by the contracts of a Life Insurance Company are impressed with a social power unknown to a million dollars in a Savings Bank. The money of a Savings Bank or a Trust Company or a Railroad is busy, useful money, but useful as it is, it is not impressed with the singular power that attaches to Life Insurance money. This brings us to the very fundamentals of the idea:

When Dr. Halley assembled in 1693 the observed facts which became the basis for the first table of mortality, he made a discovery which in its present influence on sociology ranks with the greatest of discoveries, and in its ultimate effects on society may ultimately outrank most others.

Emerson tells us that humanity as a whole is walking along the edge of a precipice over which thousands are quickly thrust if the price of bread is advanced a few cents a loaf. All that stands between the average family and destitution is the earning power of the father. Just behind him stalk accident, disease, war and economic disaster, any one of which in a moment can take away the only safeguard the family has. The application of the law of mortality or of longevity through life insurance binds such families, millions of them, into a great co-operative guild through which the life of the bread-winner is instantly capitalized for the direct benefit of the family and of course the indirect benefit of society.

This transforms the mob into an army; it substitutes coherence for incoherence; certainty for uncertainty; solvency for insolvency; it meets and discharges to a large degree the obligations which the state potentially assumes with the creation of every family. If the father lives presumably those obligations will be discharged; if he dies prematurely there is a default to society. The orphan asylums, homes for the aged and destitute, and even the reformatories and penitentiaries, testify to the present extent of that default. Life Insurance minimizes that default through a direct, scientific, practical program. Apart from the protection of the family, this is a service to the state—generally unrecognized—of the first order.

The service of Life Insurance to the individual, morally, is equally striking. Panic is the word that most frequently explains the failure of men, of institutions and of nations. War is panic. Reason ceases somewhere to function before war happens. Death is panic. In the thoughts of every serious-minded man is the fear of death; not because men are cowards but because they are brave and rational. The fear is born of anxiety about their dependents. Against the remorseless demands of mortality, which is organized, certain in its stride but uncertain as to where its stroke will fall, stands the thin unorganized red line of the individual; and panic stands hard by.

But put individuals of that thin line into touch with their fellows, show them how they can organize and face the organized and remorseless approach of the dread enemy, and panic disappears. The individual then steps out with lifted forehead and a new courage.

Shakespeare describes this new man in "Measure for Measure" as being

"\* \* \* \* \* fearless of what's  
Past, present or to come; insensible  
Of mortality, and desperately mortal."

Sociologically the largest significance of Life Insurance lies in service generally not thought of at all, yet these unheralded qualities are the ones that most appeal to the imagination, they are the ones which should make it most attractive to the educated man as a vocation. I divide them into two groups:

- 1st. Those which teach rules of action which must ultimately control the citizenship of any really efficient democracy; those which teach the world what responsible democracy is.
- 2d. Those which not only teach the theory of universal brotherhood but under prodigious difficulties scientifically apply them.

As to the first group:

We can think of no better example of democracy than our own country. There probably is in all history no better example. And yet with all the great things it has done who is not conscious of some grave weaknesses. Becoming a sovereign the citizen refuses to rule; he finds money-making more attractive. He has no scale by which he can measure his obligation to society nor any by which he can tell what society should give him. He therefore takes all he can get. He seldom worries over whether what he gives is adequate—unless it takes the form of taxes. The mere payment of taxes does not discharge the obligations of our citizenship. There are grave obligations of which we

seldom think. Some of our obligations are daily, some yearly, some once in four years and some—and those the gravest—have an uncertain periodicity.

As the world is organized now war is as certain to come to us as the sun is in a few weeks to bring back the flowers. To defend what the Fathers created is the profoundest of obligations. And yet until Europe staged and began to play an epochal tragedy what American thought much about war, of the certainty of its coming and when it came how he would meet it? Now we stand appalled—some of us at least—realizing that while we can and must have a paid navy we cannot as a republic have a great hiring army, but that we must have a great available army nevertheless. We realize that it must be a citizen army and that as men we are physically flabby and unfit, that we have no program by which that appalling condition can be surely remedied, and, worst of all, that some are morally equally flabby and are disposed to go on keeping both feet in the trough.

The truth that this country has yet to learn—and in learning may pay a bitter price—is that in no form of government is a disciplined citizenship as necessary as in ours and in no individual governmental instance has that discipline been so utterly neglected. Because the source of our sovereignty is in the citizen, and therefore the same citizen must both rule and serve, must both give and take, the balance must be preserved or ruin is as certain as a correct balance sheet is inexorable. We haven't bothered ourselves much about that balance sheet. We haven't seriously attempted to ascertain definitely what each citizen must give and do to be a real sovereign as he professes to be and not a



defaulter to society as many of us are. Deficits in business can be ignored and concealed for a time, but in the end they must be met to the last penny or they assert themselves in the courts of bankruptcy. Our social deficit has been accumulating for some time. What about the size of it? Shall we ascertain the truth in the matter of defense by taking our feet out of the trough long enough to establish the facts and face them, or shall we wait until flabby and unmobilized we are forced to face the industrial competition of the highly trained and centralized units of Europe? Shall we wait until ready to be looted we face in helpless terror their armies and fleets? In the latter case the deficit will assert itself in ruined cities if not in lost liberties.

I invite your attention to an International republic whose structure indicates a way out, a republic in which each citizen is within the limits of his capacity the equal of every other citizen, where duty and rights are exactly measured and enforced, where there is and can be no default by either the individual or the general body, where each citizen is certain to get all he deserves and no more, where all are satisfied because it appears that the majority of men are naturally satisfied when they know that no one can get more than they can for the same value, and all get full value. That republic is the republic of Life Insurance. It is already so large that it touches the interests and applies its discipline to substantially every man, woman and child in the United States, and includes with them on terms of true democracy and equality many thousands of different races and creeds who live under totally different jurisdictions.

This Republic is first of all financially sane, it spends no money until it knows exactly whence the money is to come. Its contracts are based on exact knowledge, and yet before Halley established the law of mortality the solution of its problems would have seemed almost miraculous. It starts with a table of mortality, it assumes that for the life of the contract it will earn a minimum rate of interest, it adds a percentage for expenses which if conservatively managed it never exceeds and by scientifically combining these three elements it puts under its structure a foundation as dependable as the continuity of human life.

It is democratic, efficient, and so just that it doesn't need to be merciful. It is the greatest peace organization in the world. In civic affairs the man who neglects his civic obligations is not immediately punished, if indeed he ever is; he rather wins than loses by his default. But in the Republic of Life Insurance the quitter loses. He gets an equity, he is not wronged, he gets all he has fairly paid for but the man who sticks gets a margin more. There is never a deficit. The poor man's money is just as potent as the rich man's. If the rich man finally gets more, be sure he paid more. Moreover the whole structure while essentially peaceful is always mobilized. Generally speaking the whole of a company's assets, with all its variety of security stands solidly behind the smallest as well as the largest pledge of the institution.

In this Republic sovereignty dwells in the individual, without distinction of sex, but the sovereigns neither neglect their duties as rulers nor do they attempt to conduct the business of the state by mass meeting. They delegate enormous discretion to a few men and

then hold them responsible; they understand that to insure efficiency and justice power must be exercised. They have learned that power, if responsible, is not a menace, but a necessity. As citizens of the American Republic we follow no such rule. We are almost as irresponsible in our attitude toward government as we would be if all civic responsibility rested with an autocrat. We are disposed to regard the government as of interest to us only during the excitement of an election. We look on the soldier with suspicion and on politics as an unworthy game. We can fail to register and fail to vote and suffer no direct penalty. Under a proper enforcement of the ideals we profess a man would be compelled to purge himself of fault before a court after such failure.

The Republic of Life Insurance in short offers a model of what the relations between citizens and their government should be in a democracy, to achieve efficiency and justice.

As to the second group:

If there ever was a time—and perhaps there was—when it was beyond the capacity of the people to see farther than the natural and artificial barriers that had divided them into hostile camps, if there ever was a time when under the laws of nature they had to fight and kill each other, that time is passing. Assume if you please that the results of this war will be distinctly a triumph for democracy and human liberty. Nevertheless the horror of it, the agony of it, the losses it brought, the burdens it laid on future generations will bulk larger in the minds of men than any possible military victory. The people will have won no victory if it does not eliminate or hereafter control

the forces and conditions which resulted in this red horror. No one can say now how completely that truth will grip the wills of men when peace in some form comes. But that there will be tests applied to the institutions of the world such as were never applied before is beyond question.

What is the one hard, inflexible condition that has kept and still keeps the people of the world apart? Whence came the power which for generations has made the States of Europe armed camps while the people as citizens traded with each other and trusted each other and had in their hearts no fear of each other?

Whence came the orders which in a twinkling transformed gentlemen into savages? What was the power that has already killed 5,000,000 men and maimed or captured 14,000,000 others? What is it that now keeps over 40,000,000 men under arms or in training? One answer serves for all:

### UNCONDITIONED SOVEREIGNTY.

It is futile to speculate now on why men chose to develop society through separate sovereign units called nations; but it is not futile to speculate on whether that program has not outlived its usefulness. Nations as units of organized life will of course continue; that condition is not on trial before the bar of humanity. The dogma that is on trial is the dogma of sovereignty. That dogma nearly defeated the wisdom of Washington and the logic of Hamilton in 1788. Enough of it survived in 1861 so that it again reared its horrid front and it died here only after four years of fratricidal war.

And how the dogma lied to our fathers and now it lies to us! How it appealed to pride and fears in 1787

and 1861—just as it now appeals to the pride and the fears of the suffering peoples of Europe.

We know that the pride it always appeals to is false pride, the fears it awakens are groundless. When we put that pride aside in 1789 and abandoned those fears—and not till then—we entered on the career that has covered this hemisphere with free, separate and yet united commonwealths and made it the desire of the world.

This Republic is the great exemplar of the processes by which States can preserve their identity and their liberties and yet be merged into larger States.

Life Insurance is the great exemplar of how peoples of separate sovereignties without regard to race or creed can be merged as human beings into an international organization—and if into an international organization which deals with men's most profound interests why not into an international State. The Life Companies which operate internationally have already made the brotherhood of man something more than a poet's dream. They have been amongst the few institutions whose ministrations for two and a half years have gone on along with the Red Cross and other relief, but free from all suggestion of charity. The government of one of these international companies is a very real parliament of man, a prophecy of the greater parliament to come.

The man who believes that the people of the world will ultimately patch up some sort of peace, go home to mourn for their dead, bend their backs under the crushing load of debt, and ask no further questions, has no vision and no faith. That they will bring the dogma of sovereignty to bar is certain; it is equally

certain that they will ultimately condemn and abandon it. If the people win in this great fight they must then win a second victory and their second victory will be greater than the first because it will be over their own prejudices and fears.

Between the close of this war and the final destruction of this dogma many years may lie. But whether the years be few or many is, in the march of events, less important than that the issue should be certain. Who would not like to make those years fewer? What educated man may not well be attracted by life insurance, a vocation which gives a new meaning and a higher significance to the standard professions and distinctly leads in the thinking and in the methods which foreshadow the destruction of this dogma and promise the world salvation.

The vocations or professions which seek these great ends will keep certain principles in view—

The source of sovereignty—the citizen;

A trained citizenship;

The religion of self-respect;

The power of co-operation;

The solidarity of the race;

Recognition of the supreme value—human life; and

The merging of so-called sovereignties into a greater authority, following as a model the Federation of the Thirteen Colonies in 1789.

In the realization of these ideals lie the real purpose and the dynamics of life insurance.

As a vocation, as a profession, it touches the imagination; it responds to the problems of the age; its call is creative; its gospel is prophetic; the Brotherhood of man is its goal.



## WHY WE SHALL FIGHT

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ADDRESS AT A PATRIOTIC RALLY, RIVERDALE, N. Y., APRIL 23, 1917

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ONLY those of us who are well on toward three score years of age have any vivid memory of the Civil War. This is true North and South. Two generations are embraced in the period which separates us from Sumter and Appomattox. In that time we have been very busy in peaceful pursuits and have almost never thought of war. Millions from other lands have come to our shores, accepted the responsibilities of citizenship, and have been imperfectly assimilated by our national life. These, too, hate war. They fled from its shadow.

Under the inspiration of a society in which the inalienable rights of the individual were declared to be paramount, with resources at hand almost unlimited in both variety and extent, protected by an almost impenetrable isolation, we have become the richest, the most homogeneous, *the most pacific* of all the great nations. We have come to hate war with a completeness that is comparable only with Billy Sunday's hatred of the devil. The war with Spain did little more than give us a thrill; it was over in three months—all except the shame of our own inefficiency and the scandals that attended—over except that the fruits of

that war territorially moved us a long way out of our isolation and toward the duties which we now face. We are just beginning to realize that.

New conditions, new duties, new problems now face us, and the patriotic activities of this secluded section of New York are a part of the National effort to awaken and readjust itself.

There is and has been nothing the matter with the patriotism of this Nation; but the Nation had to do a lot of readjusting mentally and morally before it could become a belligerent. Think of it! We had assumed that such wars were not to come again. For these two generations we have not only peacefully developed this continent but we have seen the peoples of the world generally working together, trading together, thinking much the same, dressing alike, and erecting a great international fabric of credit and trade, the destruction of which we knew would be sheer senseless savagery and vandalism. But even if savagery reasserted itself, even though the world otherwise went mad, we had a smug feeling that it could not reach us. We were safe because isolated.

Before we could become belligerents we had to abandon many of our dreams. We had to wake up and realize that some of our assumptions were erroneous. We had consciously to admit that the medieval Hun still lived and had power to reach across the seas, power to penetrate our isolation; we had to revise our estimates of peoples, and that is as difficult for Nations as it is for individuals. We were obliged mentally to admit that we must revert to the methods and ideas of savagery, and that, from our long training in the ways of peace and because of our ideals, was a

more difficult task than it was or could be for any other people in the world.

We did not hesitate so long over what we should do because we were cowards, nor because we were making money, as has been so frequently charged, but because we believed we had lifted a great portion of the world under our Federal Constitution above the shame and terror and insanity of war, and it was difficult for us to realize that we had not done that after all. Before we could become belligerents we had mentally to admit a large measure of failure, to face the necessity of reaction, to confess that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness not only was not everywhere a recognized right but that its continued existence here was imperilled.

The Anglo-Saxon world generally slept through these two generations. There were abundant signs of a gathering storm. Even France slept, but not as the Anglo-Saxon did. Every Frenchwoman who has given birth to a man-child within forty years has known that he would sooner or later have to face the identical monster that despoiled France in 1871, through the trick of a lying telegram and the vanity of the French Emperor. Despoiled of two great provinces, humiliated and prostrated France did not, as she struggled up out of that disaster, comprehend the full purpose of Germany. To the Frenchman life meant something finer than plans of conquest. With all that she had suffered, and all that she feared, France still believed that the solemnly plighted word of a great Nation, even of the German Nation, could be relied on.

Great Britain did not comprehend the truth, although she faced the facts across a very narrow arm of the sea.

She could see Germany and her trade and military activities, but she could not see Germany's soul. Alarmed, puzzled, Great Britain built her war fleet up as she saw the unconcealable evidence of the Teuton's purpose; but she did not see the necessity for anything beyond the defense of her own waterbound Empire. She, too, believed that the solemn pledges of Nations could be relied on. Except in her war fleet, England slept, and dreamed of Democracy's triumph.

But the Prussian Monster grew and never slept. His philosophers and his Kaiser told the world what was intended; but the world smiled at such medieval foolishness and refused to believe that the methods of the Dark Ages could return. The Kaiser asserted and reasserted his partnership with the Almighty, and all the Anglo-Saxon world listened with mild amusement. These were the vagaries of a man born several centuries too late; they would never really mislead a great, capable, modern people.

It has taken the world almost three years to realize that, in Germany, autocracy, government by Divine Right, is making its last, its most worthy stand. German autocracy represents autocracy at its best and therefore when most dangerous—at its best because while it mercilessly crushes out the individual, it is as a machine splendidly efficient and honest in administration. Moreover, it had the wisdom in matters of trade development to adopt a program more advanced than any other Nation; it put the whole power of its centralized life behind its factories and its ships and all they produced and carried. German autocracy fought the world in trade, in the shop, and on the sea long before it drew the sword.

After August 1, 1914, it didn't take France long to awake from her lethargy; it took Great Britain much longer; it has taken us nearly three years, and we are not awake yet.

And what finally shocked and partially aroused us?

We kept silence—to our shame—when Germany forswore herself and violated Belgium's neutrality.

It all seemed so far away; we were so snug and safe across the sea. It was dreadful, but was it our business? Then came the second great shock, the second warning that a medievalism more hideous than that represented by Attila was abroad in the world. The *Lusitania* was sunk. Aroused by that horror our people would have followed the President in whatever he did then. He only protested, and it may yet appear that his course was wise. Then followed other evidences of what the Hun intended—until finally the *Essex* was torpedoed. Then our President spoke in different terms. Germany promised to sink no more American ships without observing the rules of international law, intimating, however, that she might return to her barbarous methods if we failed to make England cease certain practices. Meantime, as the Allies fought on, they came to understand—to grasp the full significance of Germany's intentions; they came to see that Serbia and Belgium were merely incidents in a larger issue; they understood what the sneer that reduced a solemn treaty to a scrap of paper meant, what the shooting of Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt meant. They slowly recognized that this was the great fight between forces that have been irreconcilable from the beginning, the death grapple between Democracy and Autocracy. At first the Allies understood and

approved our neutrality. Then, as the contest developed and the real issues emerged, they said: "Where is America? This is her fight. She above all nations has been the beneficiary of the Democratic principle. Can it be that she will not defend it in its hour of peril?"

Gradually, as we stayed neutral, there grew up, and particularly among our Canadian friends, a feeling of bitterness; we were held in an increasing contempt. We were in danger of being rated a people which, favored above all others by nature and benefited above all others by the Democratic impulses of the world, nevertheless became poltroons at the supreme crisis.

Our own mental readjustments can best be illustrated by contrasting two utterances made by President Wilson within four months:

As lately as December 16, 1916, the President of the United States, through his Secretary of State, said in a note addressed to all the belligerents:

"He (the President) takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world."

President Wilson did not mean to create the impression that he thought and we thought that the cause of each side was equally just, but the language used made that impression. Forces dangerous to Anglo-Saxon solidarity began to stir when we seemed to say that we saw no difference in the two causes. Within a few days after that message was sent to the powers, we hadn't a friend left amongst the nations. We who ought to have reacted quickest when this great assault on Liberty was



made, continued to hesitate, while Frenchmen and Englishmen and Canadians died by thousands.

Then came the logical conclusion of the Hun's program. On January 31, 1917, we were in effect told to get off the seven seas. We were told that we must fly on our ships a new and prescribed emblem, that we must keep Old Glory in a place named and nowhere else, that we must sail along a certain parallel of latitude, and could send one passenger ship a week to Falmouth. We were told that every other American ship not so decorated found within a huge section of the Eastern Atlantic and the Mediterranean would be sunk without warning. We disregarded these insulting directions and the Hun sank our ships in violation of every rule of international law and civilized warfare. Out of the bloody struggle itself there came suddenly to us a definition of what the Allies were fighting for. We saw the issue at last. It was translated into words by the same man who spoke on the 16th of December, 1916. Speaking to the Congress on April 2, 1917, President Wilson finally said:

"The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations \* \* \* . The challenge is to all mankind \* \* \* . We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world \* \* \* . The world must be made safe for democracy \* \* \* . We have no selfish ends to serve, we desire no conquest, no dominion."

This utterance shocked a self-satisfied and still lethargic people into some measure of action. It stated the only cause that seemed great enough for us to fight for. What Belgium and Serbia and the *Lusitania* and the cruel slaughter of American citizens could not do, this call accomplished. There is and has been nothing the matter with our patriotism; but the old war cries do not easily stir it now. Ours has come to be the larger patriotism of true democracy. We are slow to fight. We will not fight for conquest or trade; but we will fight for liberty. We will rather suffer much and even endure being misunderstood. We struck the true note when we freed Cuba and left her mistress of her own destiny.

We enter this war now because we "can do no other".

If we do our share in defending the liberty of the world, in restoring a peace that will mean peace and not a period of preparation for another war, we shall have accomplished four great practical things, all forwarding a world democracy and the establishment of the principles of our Federal Constitution:

- 1st. We shall secure universal training and service, and shall have taken the first definite step in the production of a disciplined citizenship. A disciplined citizenship is more necessary in a democracy than in an autocracy.
- 2d. We shall have reunited the Anglo-Saxon world, how closely I don't know, but let us hope sufficiently to nullify in large measure the fatuity and folly of King George III and his ministers, which split that world in twain almost a hundred and fifty years ago.

- 3d. We shall have earned the approval and confidence of all Central and South America where we have always been feared and misunderstood; that will be an achievement of great value to democracy.
- 4th. We shall have helped to unite all democratic peoples in a League or Federation so mighty that no man or group of men obsessed by ambition and an insane belief in rule by Divine Right will ever again be able so nearly to crucify humanity.

As we face sufferings of which we have no conception, we remember that little band of our forebears—our political if not our lineal forebears—who stood by that rude bridge in Concord in April, 1775, and “fired the shot heard round the world”. We enter this war in their spirit, the

“Spirit that made those heroes dare  
To die and leave their children free”.

## “A KNOCK AT THE DOOR”

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ADDRESS BEFORE A MASS MEETING  
OF LIFE INSURANCE AGENTS, CENTURY THEATRE, NEW YORK  
TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 29, 1917

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“I approve most heartily your suggestion that the life insurance  
“agents devote one or two days to the sole work of placing Liberty  
“Bonds. \* \* \* \* W. G. McADOO, Secretary”  
to Life Underwriters

**B**EFORE Rhode Island entered the Federal Union it had existed as a civic entity for 137 years under a charter granted to Roger Williams. That instrument was so liberal and advanced in its theories of human rights, so entirely in harmony with the doctrines of the great charter of 1787 that when the State entered the Union no change in its already ancient fundamental law was necessary.

Roger Williams was one of freedom's great prophets; yet because of his theories of individual liberty and of government he was persecuted and banished from Massachusetts Bay where freedom is supposed to have been cradled.

When our Federal Constitution was written men began to understand that Roger Williams was an earlier if not a greater prophet than Thomas Jefferson. He had prepared the way.

We are now at war. We are at war for reasons so unselfish that the average citizen needs to be quickened, to be quickened morally and mentally in order to react

to the standards which the nation has set up under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

In the labor of that quickening what group of our citizens is most certainly, most completely equipped for service? Who have prepared the way? Who can best preach this relatively new gospel: the gospel of war without hate or desire of conquest or indemnities or material gain? the gospel of war not for peace first but for justice first? What men by training, by conviction, by the principles which they have advocated, have taught the world constantly and mightily the truths for the wider establishment of which we as a nation are now about to fight: individual responsibility and sovereignty, liberty with justice, the economic power of co-operation and the supreme value of all human life? Who have labored to erect certain great peaceful fabrics of faith and credit and values which have become in effect International Republics limited by no savage frontiers? Who have labored successfully in the development of world-wide enterprises which long since foreshadowed the post-bellum dream of universal justice and permanent peace?

Before we as a people undertook to make the world safe for democracy, who had already long labored to make it safe for the defenceless?

To all these queries one answer:

You and thousands of others like you who carry the Rate Book—the Bible of true democracy and of sound economics. You have had this equipment, you have preached these doctrines, and you have done these things.

Your business is teaching men—individuals—to do their duty. You constantly fight the natural inertia of selfishness. Men know that all must die, but most

men think that the other fellow will be the one to go. Endowed with good health, busy at his appointed work, death seems far off and no man likes even to discuss it. "Why worry? Why surrender time or money as against a contingency that of course threatens others but not me?" is about the train of thought of the average man.

There is a striking similarity between this mental attitude and the attitude of the American people toward war,—toward this war. "Why should we worry? We are protected against invasions by two great oceans. We love peace and hate war. We want no other people's territory. We have no designs on other people's rights. War may come to others; it may come to us some time but not now." That fairly expressed our feelings up to April 2, 1917.

Then something happened. Just as there comes a day to every man when he realizes that death is for him as well as for his brother, so on the second of April we—some of us at least—realized that war meant no longer to make favorites of us but in its hideous activities would thereafter have no regard for our high professions and love of peace. But not all of us understood that instantly. Some do not grasp the truth now.

Your ordinary work as life insurance men is rendered very easy when your prospect has squarely confronted his duty, when he has either mentally worked the problem out under your tutelage or has been shocked by some physical circumstance into a realization of his individual weakness. Then he responds. Then he gets ready.

The nobility of your work day by day, in the undramatic times of peace, lies in this: You persuade men



to think when the natural tendency is not to think. You persuade them to face duty—when the call of duty is uncomfortable, when it seems indeed almost an abstraction. You persuade them to prepare for loss and to make sacrifices in that preparation when no sense of danger lives in their consciousness. You labor to make men a little bigger, a little more unselfish, a little more heroic, a little more rational, a little less provincial and a little more God-like than the average man naturally is. Who attempts daily a more difficult or a nobler task? What other training so perfectly equips men for the labor that confronts us all to-night, as patriots? This particular call of the nation finds you so ready that you have only substantially to go on doing your usual work. The charter which controls your activities needs no change.

The day has come when America—generous but self-centered, idealistic but intensely practical, peace-loving and war-hating—must be shaken from her lethargy, must be taught that in this little world rivers of human blood cannot flow without draining her veins also.

There is nothing the matter with the patriotism of our people; they have lost none of their idealism, none of their love of liberty—just as there is nothing the matter with the individual man's love of his family. Your task as life insurance men with the individual, is to make him appreciate the obvious; your task as patriots with the nation, is exactly the same. The first task ought to be easy, but we know that it is not; the second task must be performed however difficult it may be.

On the 5th and 6th of June you and your fellows will sell Liberty Loan Bonds exclusively (I hope you'll sell

them incidentally every day)—bonds which rest on the faith of a free and mighty people. Why does the Government sell these pledges? Because it believes and on our behalf has declared that the natural, the inalienable rights of humanity are desperately assailed and that even our own liberties are imperiled. Unless the people can be made to see that, they will not buy these bonds. Until a man has been shocked into an appreciation of his inability to carry the risk of his own mortality you can't insure his life. Until a peace-loving nation has been shaken out of its natural lethargy it is difficult to make it understand that a given condition is a deadly menace, when that condition is physically a long way off.

Later on many of you may take your places under the flag in the trenches or on the sea. Once the nation is aroused there can be but one result. These, however, are the days of hesitation. It all seems so horrible, so impossible. To arouse our people Paul Revere must again go thundering through the countryside. Signals of great danger have been flashed to us from the watch tower as they were to him, and there must be riders or the people will not be awake and ready. And what do the signals tell? They tell that a great nation drunk with power has forsworn itself; that the Lusitania has been sunk in such violation of every natural impulse of civilized men that it is clearly a case of conscious barbarism; that Edith Cavell has been shot; that Belgium has been outraged again and again; that the young womanhood of Northern France has been debauched by savages more ruthless than the Huns; that a power is raging through the land and lurking under-sea as sharks lurk, in order to strike as sharks strike, a

power which jeers at the principles of our Declaration of Independence and mocks at government by the people. If the true significance of those danger signals can be driven home, there will be no trouble about the bonds nor about the other billions yet to come; but on June 5th and 6th Paul Revere must ride again; there must come to every home in the Nation as there came to every home in Concord and Lexington on that April morning in 1775:

"A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,  
"And a word that shall echo forevermore."

On June 5th and 6th you will ride to help quicken the patriotism, the idealism of the nation. You are already organized; you are veterans in a like service; you know what the signals mean and you know your duty. You can qualify in this fight for Liberty as completely as Rhode Island did under Roger Williams's charter. You will thereby help to win from the people assent to the high and unselfish purpose which has made our Government denounce and attack this Prussian monster.

During our Civil War—the wounds of which are now happily healed—the plain people—always more or less mute—expressed their loyalty to their great weary Leader in the White House through song. In one of these songs they said:

"We are coming Father Abraham."

The message so sent reached Lincoln and he was cheered and strengthened by it.

The masses are mute to-day. They have no medium through which to express to our war-worn Allies their wonder, their admiration, their affection, and

their devotion. By your work on these appointed days you will help to give these emotions a voice: a voice which will daily rise in volume and power, a voice which when full-throated will sound round the earth bringing hope and courage to all lovers of liberty, a voice which shall say to our comrades over the sea:

“We are coming O! glorious sister, France!

“We are coming O! great Mother England!

“Coming because Liberty is assailed and we have not

“forgotten that our fathers did not fear death, for

“liberty’s sake.

“Coming because we have highly resolved anew that

“government of the people, by the people, and for the

“people shall not perish from the earth.”



BELGIUM





## BELGIUM

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FROM AN ADDRESS, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1917

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**S**INCE the Greeks stood at Thermopylae and stopped the rush of the Persian hordes there has been no parallel to what the world saw on the three fateful days in early August, 1914, when Belgium chose death rather than dishonor.

Since Joan of Arc faced her accusers and stood undismayed while the fagots were lighted about her the world has seen no more heroic and pathetic figure than Belgium personified in her youthful and intrepid leader, King Albert.

Belgium has quickened the soul of the world. She has made us put a new estimate on men and events.

We see John Brown of Ossawatimie in a new and glorious light; we catch a new inspiration from the martyrdom of John Huss.

Power of arms, masses of wealth, vast territories, millions of people shrink and shrivel when there blazes out in the consciousness of men a recognition that after all the only great thing in the world is self-respect, the Divine fearlessness which sustained Jesus Christ and Socrates and all the saints, religious and political, who have died for humanity. The power that has periodically quickened the conscience of the world has some-

times found expression through a man and sometimes through a people.

Since 1832 Belgium has been the keystone in the arch of international good faith. On the physical integrity of Belgium all the great European sovereignties agreed. Her soil was to be as sacrosanct as the solemnly pledged word of great nations could make it.

All the powers, including Belgium, believed in Germany's good faith. The pledge held through the war of 1870. Few doubted that it would hold always. Then under the high-sounding phrase of "military necessity", Germany proceeded to smash the one great compact under which sovereign states had established the higher law of internationality. And what was Germany's necessity? The necessity of the burglar and the assassin—no more. A nation cannot be assassinated and leave "no trace". The record in Belgium will endure to the last syllable of recorded time.

Little Belgium defied the perfidious monster and therefore it is that Belgium has become the monitor of the self-respect of men. She met the first rush of the new Attila, the organized forces of barbarism, the lust of power, the demands of a monster criminal, almost alone, almost unaided.

She had to decide quickly. She was first taken up into a high place, shown the riches of the world, promised ease and recompense and safety if she would bow down. And what a temptation it must have been! How it must have appealed to her practical statesmen! How such an appeal made here would go home to certain United States Senators! If she resisted she couldn't stop Germany. She knew that. Germany would pass through with or without her consent. Ger-

many would probably do all she planned to do in any event. Therefore why hesitate? If she resisted she had everything to lose and for that loss no reasonable prospect of gain. By yielding she would lose no material thing, she would undertake no quixotic enterprise; she would simply step aside and let the monster attack its real objective.

But Belgium had a soul as high and serene as the soul of the Maid of Orleans. Between dishonor and death she chose death, and her land has been a Calvary from that day to this.

The shame of the assault, the moral heroism of the resistance, we did not as a people grasp. It was all so far away and the Beast that outraged Belgium lived and worked insidiously in our very midst, and cleverly dulled our moral sense. He was very busy, and, as always, very efficient. His appeal was cunning and it was effective for nearly three years. Without any real appreciation of whether or not it was morally infamous for us to be "in" or "out" we elected a President on the cry "He has kept us out of war". In the light of President Wilson's later action, in view of his splendid leadership, I wonder whether he now remembers that cry with any satisfaction. But we were then all—or nearly all—alike. We couldn't clearly see Belgium; we didn't understand the situation even when the unspeakable Brute sank the Lusitania. We are only beginning to understand Belgium now. We must understand her or we are lost.

Belgium is the Light of the World. Belgium is the Hope of the World unless hope is to die.

In a physical sense Belgium cannot be restored. Morally she needs no restoration. We are they who

need moral reconstruction. We are climbing now slowly toward the heights where Belgium stands with glorious France and mighty England. We are beginning to understand that we cannot share in the moral regeneration of the world unless we unite in its sacrifices.

We cannot win a share in Belgium's moral grandeur by restoring her cities, for the same reason that Germany could not sully that grandeur by destroying her cities. If we rise to Belgium's level, we must pay the price: that price is primarily spiritual. It calls us now. As Antony exhibited to the Romans Caesar's bloody mantle and showed the ugly slit made by Casca's dagger so Conscience and Human Pity show us the wounds of Belgium, and France and Poland and Serbia, and wait to see whether we are that Antony that will put a tongue in every gaping wound to stir the world for vengeance and for justice.

Our moral test in one sense was not quite so high as that applied to Belgium. She had no time to organize her soul. We had nearly three years. But in another sense our test was severer than Belgium's. No savage was knocking at our doors; we did not suddenly have to become either serfs or heroes; our decision was made deliberately; we had time to count the cost. When the average American citizen decided last April to support President Wilson, that citizen climbed to heights never before trod by free men. He showed himself a statesman; he showed himself a worthy descendant of the men who stood at Concord and "fired the shot heard around the world".

And therefore it is that we are now mobilizing our power. In spite of politicians and their ambitions, in

spite of slackers and traitors, in spite of an espionage which penetrates even the remote corners of our Government, in spite of the yellow streak in many of us, in spite of our horror of war, in spite of everything, and without regard to any costs, we are gathering our power. Not alone our material power but our moral consciousness. We are seeing Belgium as she is. We are seeing Germany as she is. We are beginning to understand what each stands for.

The peoples that hesitate after getting a clear vision of the issue before mankind to-day deserve to perish. Oceans may protect them for a time, but who or what shall protect them from themselves? A correct moral vision for us at least made all the rest inevitable. Men who get that vision no longer count the cost; neither shall we. Women do not weep when their sons march away; ours will not. If to assert our moral standards it is necessary that a million of our boys die—so be it. Better that they should physically die and thereby save the nation's soul than that we should for a season rot in wealth and safety.

*The road to Belgium leads through Berlin.*

The German menace lies in her assumption of superiority. Given that conviction amongst any people and the achievement of the ambitions of politicians becomes the duty of citizenship. There are other institutions in the world that rest on like assumptions, and they will have to be dealt with in time; but Germany is the present enemy of humanity. She must change her attitude, her declared purposes and ideals, or she must be crushed. There can be no peace, there can be no morality in the world until one or the other is achieved.

We long for peace, although as yet we have done little to win it. But when we decide about the terms of peace let our decision be as fearless as Belgium's decision was on August 3, 1914.

*Belgium could easily have lost her soul that day. By paltering, by compromising, we can easily lose our souls now.*

*Peace proposals which deal only with what is expedient, which do not recognize the moral outrage as well as the physical ruin of Belgium are only another form of the temptation which Belgium so gloriously overcame in the beginning.*

*Shame be to us, and woe be to us, if we ever endorse a peace which does not remove this Terror from the world.*

*Morally we must go to Belgium; there only can we win absolution. To do that we must physically go no one knows whither. And we will not ask.*



## PEACE!

PEACE DID NOT COME IN 1917.  
IT MAY NOT COME IN 1918.  
WHY DID IT NOT COME?

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FROM THE AGENCY BULLETIN (N.Y.L.)  
DECEMBER 19, 1917

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**W**HAT does peace mean? Does it mean merely that the guns have ceased to speak and nations no longer devote all their powers to human slaughter? It means that, but does it mean only that?

If peace means only that and if peace is the thing supremely to be desired, then the United States and her Allies should immediately stop short. Peace can be had—that kind of peace—almost in a moment. That sort of peace could have been secured by any one of the Allied Nations any time since July, 1914. Russia seeks it now.

Serbia could have won that sort of peace—at a price!

Belgium could have gained that sort of peace—and lost her soul!

France could have saved her 1,000,000 dead sons and all her ravished daughters—at a price.

Great Britain could have won peace and probably what at the time might have seemed some material advantage if she had put peace above her plighted word.

We could have still kept the peace, the peace that we kept long enough, if we had not put self-respect higher than hatred of war.

When should peace come in order to be peace?

**When Belgium has been avenged**—not merely evacuated by the Hun, not merely physically restored but righteously avenged. There is a wrath that is the finest expression of righteousness and peace will mean nothing until the German State has been scorched with its hot flames.

**When France has been rehabilitated.** France has suffered for us in a way that we can never repay. France, liberty-loving, artistic, heroic France, had her home next to the bit of earth where was born some two centuries ago a man called Frederick the Great. In his soul was spawned the doctrine of force, of power, of the Divine Right of Kings, of the moral justification of war. He took a people naturally great—or at least it seemed so then—kindly, gentle, humane and tractable, and taught them through discipline a morality that kills the soul. He began the erection of a Political Juggernaut that started out on August 1, 1914, to crush the world. It has already killed 6,000,000 men, wounded and maimed 7,000,000 more, and shut up other millions in prison camps. It has bankrupted itself and its associates and piled up a mountain of debt which the world will not discharge in a century. It has turned the world back to the Middle Ages and still stands beaten but defiant and as always, remorseless.

Peace with such a monster cannot be made. Let us not dodge that. Our boys can die—they are dying. Many more may die. We fight, but not merely for peace. We could easily have kept that formality. We fight for justice, for self-respect. We fight to keep our souls in the same realm with Belgium. We fight to keep the world from becoming a jungle.

Civilized, self-respecting, self-governed, liberty-loving men cannot live in the same atmosphere with this Prussian Monster.

It is easy to think that perhaps we can. It is easy to think that it is all a long way off. It is easy to think it is none of our affair—that's the whisper of cowardice, of fear, and of the secret—perhaps paid—agent of Germany.

Christmas and the Red Cross call for men.

Christ was a man! He might have escaped the cross if He had sought peace at any price.

Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Armenia, Roumania and France have climbed their Calvaries and from their crucified bodies there shines the light that redeems all races—the light that tells the Hun he cannot rule this world because self-respect still survives.


We in turn are now facing our Calvary. Let us climb it without flinching.

## A NEW CHARTER OF LIBERTY

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FROM THE MARCH (1918)  
NUMBER OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

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UR immediate duty is to win this war. Since the days just preceding the Battle of the Marne disasters have been no thicker, the outlook has been no blacker than now.

The thicker the disasters, the darker the outlook, the more imperative that duty becomes.

We have entered the conflict because we could stay out no longer and retain our self-respect. We have gone over-seas to meet a monster that planned later on to attack us in our own homes. We fight to drive from the world The Terror that slays, that debauches, that violates, that knows no honor, and has no compassion; but we also fight in order that, for similar reasons, the world may never have to fight again. If this is to be a place fit for habitation by civilized men, if it is to be a place in which hope and ambition and unselfishness and human affection are to flourish, we must win the war, and then make that victory effective through a change in the fundamental relations between democratic states.

With victory we shall face an unprecedented crisis, out of which a new world should be born—a world splendidly worth its fearful cost.

In that crisis, and fighting against that rebirth, will lie the deadly force of inertia, the paralyzing influence of ancient prejudices and fears, and a natural longing for the restoration of the old conditions.

Restoration of the status quo between the democracies of the world, after Germany has been crushed, means defeat; it means defeat not because the old world will then be broken financially and shattered morally, but because that new world cannot be born under the old conditions.

When this war began we were utterly unprepared to do our plain duty. We must not face the crisis that will lie in after-war conditions still totally unprepared.

A comprehensive post-bellum program, thought out in advance and agreed to in principle by the Allies, is almost as important as victory itself.

To destroy this German Terror is necessary, but that does not reflect our full purpose. The conditions out of which this Terror was born, unchanged, will later produce others like it, possibly worse. We fight not only to crush or change Germany, but so to change the fundamentals of civilization that they shall no longer naturally breed in part at least the ideals which have made Germany the Monster that she is.

Neither the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, the Jap nor the Slav can understand the remorseless, senseless, brutish savagery of the German. The chaos, the lawlessness of international relations excuse and explain in part the German attitude, but they do not explain or excuse the monstrous crimes which beginning with Germany's self-violated honor have proceeded through thickening horrors to Ambassador Luxburg and his advice to sink

the ship of friendly powers but to do it in such a way as to leave no trace.

The only immediate answer to these inhuman deeds lies in the throat of cannon and machine guns; no other answer is possible.

But there is another side to the problem which will assert itself, as we hope, at no distant date. The great majority of the peoples of the world is neither insane with egotism nor drunk with the lust of power. The majority of the world is to-day genuinely democratic—democratic not merely in its forms of governments, but democratic in its sympathies, in its willingness to concede to others the rights it demands for itself. That majority was badly organized when this war began; it was really so organized as to invite war. It was democratic within the frontiers of those civic entities which we call Republics, but in the relations between those units it was autocratic. Those relations must be changed; they must be reorganized. This reorganization will include Germany if it then appears that the word of a German in Germany can be taken for anything, if it then appears that as a people they have acquired a conscience; otherwise the German State must remain the Pariah amongst nations that it is to-day.

Outside the incomprehensible savagery exhibited by Germany, I see little in her attitude toward other nations or in her purposes as a sovereignty that is really illogical or inconsistent with the present laws governing national existence. It is even possible to see how the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty, which was and still is the basis of world relations, tended and tends to develop the amazing brutalities of the German people.



Each of the great sovereignties assumes that it is uncontrolled and uncontrollable by any other state, that in the last analysis it is itself the law. This is a reversion to a primal instinct. It created as many supreme authorities in this little world as there are great sovereignties. It erected impenetrable barriers, barriers called frontiers, between the sons of men. It made civilization a powder magazine. On the first of August, 1914, the magazine blew up.

Such having been the methods of unconditioned sovereignty before the war and such its fruits, what will happen if it is continued unmodified after the war?

War will happen, war, again and again, with the ultimate dominance of one great military power.

It was as certain as the law of gravitation that both soon and late sovereignty must fight with sovereignty and that the strong only could survive. The violent change in the relations between sovereignties that followed the marvels of steam and electricity simply hastened the day when the fight was to begin and increased its horrors. It was logical—indeed who shall now say it was not necessary?—for each sovereignty to prepare for that day. Substantially all sovereignties except our own did prepare. Germany simply saw a little more clearly than others or realized with more ruthlessness than others what the situation meant and made corresponding preparation. It was logical, although entirely unmoral, for any sovereignty to build up out of this condition a fiction of superiority as Germany did. The sovereignty that was perfectly logical, and without moral sense could well argue, as Germany did:

"This condition means war, there is no escape from it;

"Ultimately only one great power can survive;

"The power that survives will be the one that has the will to survive;

"That will is God-given, it was born of the plans of the Creator; therefore,

"Germany having that will is chosen of God to rule the world; hence

"It becomes our duty, in order to carry out the Divine Purpose, not only to equip ourselves by every possible means, but to spy on other sovereignties in times of peace, to weaken them by any possible process, to suborn their public officers, to bribe their generals, to buy their newspapers, to pervert their public opinion;

"Moreover it becomes our duty in order to obey the Divine Will to strike whenever it seems that we are best prepared to strike and the rest of the world is least prepared to defend itself; and

"As this will be the Supreme Fight, the one that is to establish God's purpose on the earth we shall be justified in hesitating at nothing, we shall have warrant for any act that will terrify—the end will justify the means."

In the doctrine of sovereignty, except as it may be qualified by the principles of democracy, there is no more morality than there is in the law of the jungle.

The logic of Germany was born of the morality of that Doctrine, and therefore, always under pressure from Germany, we had for years before this war began constantly increasing armament by land and sea, the so-called "balance of power" in Europe, and the international chaos of 1914. In that chaos Germany

thought she saw her opportunity. She knew herself prepared. Her spies told her that France was unready. She knew that the Government of Russia was rotten, that she could suborn Russia's rulers, bribe her generals, and debauch her public opinion. She believed that Great Britain was decadent and would enter on no quixotic enterprise. She assumed that Italy would remain in the Dreibund. She expected us to become involved only after she had crushed Europe. It seemed to be "The Day". It would have been but for the glorious soul of Belgium, the matchless courage of France, and that gray, grim, silent line of ships which rests somewhere in the North Sea.

For years Germany's preparation had been obvious, its purpose confessed, the crisis inevitable. But the Democracies of the world apparently could not see the obvious, they preferred to ignore Germany's brazenly confessed purpose. They adhered to the doctrine of sovereignty and at the same time they flinched from the full measure of its fearful logic. They preserved their frontiers, they waged economic wars on each other through tariffs, but they did after a fashion recognize the rights of other peoples and they did not let the lust for power utterly consume their souls. They built their railroads, for example, for commerce and not for war. They risked their very existence, as we now see, by not being entirely logical,—and they have very nearly paid the price of their inconsistency. It is clear, therefore, that the democracies of the world must not permit that crisis to arise again. To prevent that they must either deny their own faith and become armed camps or they must formulate a post-bellum plan which will remove that monstrous logic

from the democratic world, and they should formulate that plan now.

Assume that Germany is so changed in the not distant future that civilized men can deal with her, or that she is so crushed that she can be ignored, what then?

Are we still to follow the old program? Can the world be reorganized for peace on those lines? It never has been. For some centuries now Peace in Europe has been merely a period of preparation for the next war. Is the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty to be preserved with all its hideous significance for the future? If so, what shall we have gained by victory? Shall we have gained anything?

At the very threshold of all post-bellum discussion this doctrine will stand and thrust its bloody history into our councils. We cannot ignore it. We dare not palter with it. What are we to do with it? It cannot as yet be utterly abolished. Nationality with all its crimes was as inevitable a step in the evolution of government as mammals were in the evolution of man. It has played a great part, it must still play a great part, but its role hereafter in the democratic world must not be the leading part; humanity must come first.

In general terms what does that involve? It will not be easy to modify the doctrine of sovereignty or to indicate a better plan; but whether the task be easy or difficult, it is now time—ignoring details—to name certain principles which must be adhered to in the future relations of democracies if the victory that will cost so much is not after all to be frittered away. If the Allies having crushed Germany continue relations between themselves such that in a generation or two

it will be necessary for them to turn and crush each other, what will victory in this conflict have been worth?

Let us put it as baldly and as offensively as possible.

The sovereignty of the United States as between itself and the democracies, great and small, with which we should be federated at the close of this war must then be qualified. The sovereignty of Great Britain, France, Italy and all the democratic peoples included in that federation must be qualified in the same way.

That is the medicine the democracies of the world must ultimately take. Few people ever like their first whiff of it. Our forefathers did not like it, but it was good for them and they took it.

Apart from the necessity for such action between democracies after the war we are already committed to the principle; so is Great Britain.

Great Britain has said that she fights, and we have said that we fight to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression in the future as are the rights and privileges of great states. Even Germany has professed that purpose, although her first act in this war was to violate Belgium, and the first act of her principal ally was to attack a small state. President Wilson in his call for a declaration of war said we must have a partnership of democratic nations, a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. "Partnership" is a strong word, but it is not quite strong enough. A "league of honor" would be fine—we have had such things in the world before—but it will not solve this problem. A joinder of democratic states in which weak peoples and small states are to be fully protected must rest on clearly defined rights, and not on privileges granted by the

grace of more powerful states. However sincere the great states in a league or partnership might be when it was formed, however perfectly they might intend then to respect the rights of small states, the precedents of history show clearly that they cannot be trusted to that extent, neither can they long be trusted to keep the peace between themselves. The history of the Thirteen States between the Peace of Paris and the adoption of the Constitution shows what would happen. Small states in such an enterprise must have as definite a place, their rights must be as clearly assured, as are the rights and privileges of the small states in the Federal Union. Safety that rests on grace or favor will not do. The union of democratic states after this war, to be effective, must be as indissoluble as the Federal Union itself.

Therefore out of the democracies of the world there must be created, not a League of nations, not a Partnership between states, but, by federation, a new State, a new Power, whose authority shall be drawn directly from the people—just as the authority of our Federal Government is drawn from the people and not from the states as such. The structure of that great new Power should rest on these principles: It should have the power to tax; it should act directly on the individual; it should have a bicameral legislature; it probably should have the three great divisions of our Federal Plan—Executive, Legislative and Judicial; and, most important of all, it should have a great Court whose verdicts, within fundamental limitations shall be conclusive on all the States so federated.

These five great principles were never incorporated into the government of federated states until our Con-



stitution was adopted and ours is the first successful government in the world's history based on federated states.

Certain objections will immediately arise in the minds of all patriotic men. All such objections—except perhaps those that spring out of the problems of language—were raised at Poughkeepsie in the summer of 1788 and were beaten to death by the logic and eloquence of Alexander Hamilton; they were raised that same summer at Richmond by Patrick Henry and were conclusively answered by John Marshall and James Madison. By the power of superb leadership the Federal Constitution was adopted. And what has it wrought? What has it not wrought?

In the beginning it created a responsible State out of political and commercial chaos.

It made this land the dream and the hope of the plain people of all the earth.

It gave rule by the people a new significance and power.

Its greatest achievement is one we as yet only dimly comprehend; it created a new type of man.

The severest mental test that free men were ever triumphant under was the adoption of our Constitution. The severest civic test in which free men have triumphed was in our Civil War. The severest test of their capacity as statesmen ever faced by free men was formulated in President Wilson's call for men on April 2, 1917. That was a test indeed. How big was our average citizen? The President assumed almost a super-man. How broad was his vision? The President assumed that it was as wide as the world. Did he understand the real meaning of this war? Some of

our so-called great men did not understand it then and some of them apparently do not understand it now. Would this plain, peace-loving democrat give up his property, his business, his sons, his daughters, in a contest that seemed almost at the other end of the earth? The splendid boys, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, who without a word of complaint have given up their careers in life and are now gathering in our training camps and on our ships, the millions of others waiting their turn, the Liberty Loans, the quick response from all who can anywhere serve give the President his answer.

American citizens, self-governed, free, are now rising to heights never before trod by free men. They are fighting in another hemisphere to help save the liberties of mankind. Having done that, it follows that the work will be but half done unless we formulate and support a program by which those liberties so dearly preserved may certainly be perpetuated.

That calls for a new order, for a new world, for a new and a greater Charter of Liberty. Under that charter must ultimately come all the truly democratic and self-governed peoples of the world. If we are to have peace, then between these peoples there must be no more questions of honor—the international code duello is as much an anachronism as the individual code duello and it must go. If we are to have peace, then between these peoples there must be no more non-justiciable questions and therefore we shall need no Councils of Conciliation and no Arbitral Tribunals, but we shall need that great Court whose decrees under the limitations of that charter shall be binding on all.

To achieve that or anything approaching it, the old order must be abandoned.

This thought, the necessity of an adequate post-bellum plan, is probably foremost in the minds of all the thinkers of the democratic world. It has already assumed a variety of forms. It has been nobly phrased by President Wilson. It has been mouthed by the German autocracy. Societies have been organized here and in Europe to forward plans more or less imperfectly thought out.

The League to Enforce Peace has attracted most attention. In substance that organization has been endorsed very widely. But the League does not propose really to change the basis of international relations, it does not go to the root of the difficulty. It proposes to use both its military and economic forces against any member that attacks another member, not having first submitted the questions at issue to the Judicial Tribunal of the League or to its Council of Conciliation.

If such differences are first submitted and the parties are still dissatisfied they may then fight without interference by the League, or if one is dissatisfied presumably it may then attack the other.

Under this plan questions of honor do not disappear; sovereignty is shorn of little of its arrogance; no *effective* process by which law shall take the place of force in international relations is proposed.

And yet the League has done and is doing fine work. It is leading the world up to the real problem. Let us remember that the resolution of the Continental Congress which called the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 did not direct the delegates to draft a new Constitu-

tion; no state gave its delegates any such authority. All that Convention was expected to do was to formulate and submit amendments to the old and impotent Articles of Confederation.

But when the great men who made up that body met they tore up their instructions; under the inspiration of Washington's opening address they erected a new standard and, in his literal words left the issue "with God". If it had been announced that the Convention of 1787 would propose the abandonment of the Confederation, and would write a new Constitution—there would have been no Convention, no Constitution then and probably no United States of America now.

The Hague Tribunal was at best only a Confederation, feebler than ours; so feeble indeed that it never really accomplished any great thing. It undertook to create an International Court but failed because of inherent impotence. It was impotent because its units were sovereignties and, in the last analysis, sovereignties can obey no law but their own.

Let there be no mistake. When victory comes we cannot go back to any Hague Tribunal; that was a device to meet conditions in a barbaric age. We shall then have marched far past that. We shall be within reach of a victory through which we can really utilize Victory. We can win that larger victory, we can banish international anarchy and the international code duello if we tear up our instructions as our forefathers did, erect a new standard and fight in a world arena for the ideals of Hamilton and Washington.

President Wilson in his message of December 3, 1917, raised that standard and rallied the democracies of the world with words of rare courage. After referring to

the "partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace", he said:

*"That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of Governments."*

Into that sentence the President has compressed the whole philosophy of our Federal Government, the whole philosophy of world democracy, the only process by which we can possibly hope to achieve permanent peace.

In his message of January 8th, in Article III of his program he calls for the "removal as far as possible of all economic barriers" between the nations associating themselves to maintain peace. A partnership of peoples as distinguished from a mere partnership of governments with economic barriers removed means Federation and nothing less.

Sir Frederick Smith, Attorney General of Great Britain, speaking recently before the New York State Bar Association, referred to the difficulties which would attend the achievement of the President's program and said that those difficulties by swiftly and unexpectedly merging would overwhelm the proposal, because they are so stupendous in their aggregate weight. If a mere league of sovereignties, of governments is to be entered into, and not a Partnership of Peoples, Sir Frederick is right. The difficulties would overwhelm the proposal. But if the responsible democracies of the world should federate, it is perfectly clear that the difficulties pointed out by this distinguished lawyer, the very difficulties that made both our Confederation and the Hague Tribunal impotent, would rapidly dis-

appear. They would disappear because they all, or substantially all, spring out of conditions that exist under a partnership of governments but do not exist under a partnership of peoples.

To illustrate: Connecticut levied a tax on imports from Massachusetts under the Confederation, as she had a right to do. She was acting as a sovereignty. All the thirteen States did similar things, as they had a right to do. Difficulties arose; chaos followed; civil war was narrowly averted. But when the Confederation became a Federation, when the partnership between thirteen governments became a partnership of peoples, these "rights" disappeared and most of the difficulties went with them.

With the lapse of time we more and more realize what a crisis in the development of democracy the Convention in Independence Hall in 1787 was. Suppose it had failed! Suppose it had followed instructions. Suppose Washington and Hamilton and Madison and Franklin had listened to the fears and had been influenced by the prejudices of the several states. Suppose that later on Clinton and not Hamilton had won in \*New York and that New York had stayed out of the Union. Suppose that Patrick Henry and not John Marshall had won in Virginia and that \*\*Virginia had stayed out of the Union. Can we measure the calamity? Would Yorktown, where our fathers had won the identical victory we are now sending our boys to Europe to win, have had any

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\*On the decisive ballot 57 votes were cast; 30 for, 27 against, Governor Clinton not voting. The official majority for the Constitution was 3; the actual majority was 2.

\*\*The majority in Virginia was 10; the ballots cast totaled 168.



further meaning for them? Would it have any meaning for us now?

Nothing is more certain than the political destruction of the Thirteen States if the Federal Constitution had failed of adoption.

Nothing is more certain than a return to confusion, chaos and war, and an ultimate recrudescence of autocracy in some form, if democracy triumphant does not redeem itself, does not abandon the old order and federate.

None of the Thirteen States lost any dignity or liberty or endangered its integrity by entering the Federal Union. No democratic state would lose any dignity or liberty or imperil its integrity by entering such a Federation.

On the contrary, each of the Thirteen States took on added power and dignity and insured its integrity by surrendering its separate sovereignty.

The surrender of separate sovereignty is the only process by which the democratic States of the world can severally insure their continued integrity.

War between the states of this Union—grown from thirteen to forty-eight—is now unthinkable. War between the democratic states of the world must be made equally unthinkable, and that cannot be achieved while the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty survives.

In the history of this country from 1783 to 1789 we have the history of a world democracy, in microcosm, successfully worked out against problems as complex as any which will exist at the close of this war. Seeking a federation of democratic states after we have achieved victory in battle we shall not be testing out a theory, we shall be following historic precedents. To

the truth of that, the flag that floats over us bears eloquent witness. Its thirteen stars have become forty-eight, and in that development no star was lost—not even when our foundations were re-tested and re-established by the bloody verdicts of a great Civil War.

In planning to destroy democracy Germany has unwittingly created an opportunity through which the establishment of world democracy may be advanced by centuries but by this very act she has raised supreme issues which must be met and met now:

- 1st. Are democracies strong enough to sustain themselves? Can they meet and hurl back the desperate, physical challenge of autocracy?
- 2d. Can they grasp and utilize the opportunity which victory will bring?

The answer to the first question is still incomplete, largely because the Allies have fought as separate sovereignties, as partners, as a confederation, and not as a unit with one common and over-mastering purpose. This method has been so ineffective and so costly that the Prime Minister of England and the Premier of France lately joined in utterances which point out that weakness with brutal frankness. Not unnaturally, indeed almost inevitably, the Allies are repeating the confusion and the follies of the Thirteen States in our Revolution. Worse than that. The Thirteen States did unite in one supremely important thing: they made George Washington Commander-in-Chief of all their armies. The Allies have failed as yet to unite under a Common Leader in any department of the war.

The test of the second question—Can the Allies wisely utilize victory?—will follow hard on the heels of victory. It will not wait long for a reply. If the Allied Nations driven together by the centripetal force of war co-operate with difficulty, what will happen when that unifying force is withdrawn? What happened after our liberties were won in 1783, when the common peril had been abated? A period of weakness, of confusion and of folly unbelievable.

Liberty was saved and order restored only when the Thirteen States swallowed their false pride and gave up the barbaric right of separate sovereignty. The lesson is plain.

The next great question will be—indeed it now presses—to what extent have the democracies of the world learned that lesson? Obviously they have not learned it for war. The English Premier almost imperiled his seat by his recent declaration in favor of a War Council of the Allies. The mere suggestion that an English Army might be directed by a body not entirely British immediately aroused the barbaric instincts of sovereignty and set all the politicians upon the Premier's back. The people, however, sustained him. May not that circumstance and the clear call for unity of action recently issued by President Wilson be an augury that with victory democracy will achieve speedily what it took us eighty-two years to accomplish? Our fathers faced the problem when the Peace of Paris was signed in 1783; we completed the task at Appomattox in 1865.

We shall indulge in sheer sophistry if we attempt to argue that the Allies' problem will be essentially dif-

ferent from the one we have solved in this hemisphere. It will be exactly the same problem.

It is therefore time, high time, ignoring details, to examine fundamentals, to formulate principles, to admit facts, to recognize unavoidable conclusions—as the basis of post-bellum discussions.

On these four Principles all sound discussion must rest:  
First Principle. *All men are created equal.*

Sovereignty has compelled us practically to deny the universality of that principle.

Governmentally we assert that only Americans are created equal.

Second Principle. *All men are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights.*

Our instinctive desire to apply this principle beyond our own frontiers explains largely why we were so pitifully unprepared when we entered this war.

Third Principle. *Sovereignty is an attribute of the individual and not inherently an attribute of the state.*

That is the very essence of democracy, and is at eternal war with all frontiers.

Fourth Principle. *States are instrumentalities and not ends.*

Until that principle is recognized and enforced there can be no lasting peace.

These three indisputable Facts must be recognized in any effective discussion:

First Fact. *None of these four principles, which express universal truths, has yet been tested—except between the States in this Republic—beyond the limits set by national frontiers; they have otherwise never had any but a local application.*

Second Fact. *To make the world safe for democracy and democracy safe for the world these principles must everywhere be applied, BETWEEN democracies as well as WITHIN democracies.*

Third Fact. *The doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty is the force that has prevented such an application of these universal truths.*

*Therefore as between democracies the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty must be abolished.*

It is not too early for the Allies to agree on these principles as the basis of their post-bellum plan.

It is not too early for them to recognize the truth of these facts.

It is not too early to admit the great conclusion that follows from those principles and facts.

But democracy can apply that conclusion only if her hands are clean. There can be no federation of democracies after peace comes if that peace is a cowardly compromise with criminals. First there must be bitter repentance in Germany—either through a re-awakening or through sheer physical defeat.

Cities cannot compromise with gunmen and burglars and remain cities: democracies cannot compromise with forces that deny the very fundamentals of democratic faith and remain democracies, and the Allies can never compromise with the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs.

We fight to establish liberty, to restore the good order of the world; but good order will not be restored, liberty will not be established, merely by defeating Germany. There can be no permanent world good order if the relations between the nations now allied are continued after the war as they were before the

war. If this conflict has not taught us that, it hasn't taught us anything.

Autocracy was halted at the Marne. It was defeated at Verdun. It will be crushed only in Berlin. Its menace will be ended when triumphant democracy issues, and its units adopt a new Charter of Liberty, based on the identical surrender made by the Thirteen States when they adopted the fundamental law of this Republic. By no other process can a peace be organized which shall be worth the crushing cost of this conflict.







# WOODROW WILSON AND THE DOCTRINE OF SOVEREIGNTY

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AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE  
LIFE UNDERWRITERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 5, 1918

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**I**F IN the Summer of 1913 the people of France had reported that one of the great Pterodactyls of the Mesozoic period had suddenly winged its reptilian way over the borders of that Republic, the rest of the world would have smiled, shrugged its shoulders and said that the excitable French were "seeing things".

If in the summer of 1914 the people of Belgium had reported that a group of Dinosaurs had suddenly appeared at the gates of that Kingdom and had begun to kill as reptiles killed when reptiles ruled the earth, the world would again have shrugged its shoulders and gone about its business.

If in the Spring of 1915 we had been told that a Plesiosaur, the Saurian that swam in the sea in the age of Reptiles, had suddenly reared its awful front off the Head of Old Kinsale and had killed twelve hundred people amongst whom were scores of our own citizens, including women and babies, we would have been more than incredulous.

In each assumed happening the world outside those who saw and suffered would have said the reports were

absurd. Such animals did exist some millions of years ago; they were reptiles; they did rule the land and the sea and the air; but they long since passed away. This is the twentieth century, such monsters no longer exist and such things cannot happen.

But at the times and places indicated events actually happened as sinister, as hideous, as pitiful, as unbelievable as they could have been if the Zeppelin had been a Pterodactyl and the German war machine a group of Dinosaurs and the submarine a Plesiosaur.

The reptilian bodies of the Saurians are dead, but reptilian morals, reptilian faith, reptilian manners and reptilian purposes, we now know have never died; they flourish in the twentieth century; they have added to the terrible beaks and claws and armor of their physical forebears the power of trained intellect and all the forces of scientific knowledge; they have found lodgment in German bodies, minds and souls; they have found expression in the unspeakable criminal record that long since made Germany a Pariah amongst the nations.

We have only just begun to appreciate these dreadful facts. It has been almost impossible for us to grasp the truth. It was in fact about as colossal a task for us to dislocate, dismember and destroy our usual conceptions of decency, in order, for ourselves and the world, to resist the demands of Germany, as it would be for us to breathe and survive if the atmosphere of the age of Saurians were suddenly substituted for the air of our usual habitat. We are temporarily wearing moral gas masks while the boys over there fight the great reptile similarly protected physically. We hate it; but we've got to do it and we are going through it.

It seems to me that these reptilian qualities were kept alive and developed in Germany in this way:

Man is the only rational animal. Therefore man is the only animal that can lie or be deceived by lies. Lying is a wicked and an unforgivable perversion of man's loftiest powers. Lying can succeed only if the person lied to is credulous and honest or if he is entirely at the mercy of the liar. Lying to another liar is less effective and less dangerous.

The appalling crimes committed by Germany within four years do not reach their climax in her perversion of scientific achievements into implements of indiscriminate murder, they do not reach their climax in rape officially condoned if not ordered, nor in forcing people through hunger into slavery; her great crime consists in systematic lying, lying first to her own people and then to all other peoples. Von Papen's characterization of the American people as idiots has in it the sneer of Mephistopheles. To the German how gullible we were; what children not to see the lie and its purpose! We were children by the German standard of honor. But now we know, now we are keeping the reckoning and we propose to make the great Liar pay to the uttermost farthing.

What a welter of lying preceded and produced the present mental and moral attitude of the people of the German Empire. Assume if you like a certain natural cruelty, brutality and ruthlessness in the Teuton, admit that he does not normally react to the standards adhered to by the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin and you have not explained the existing conditions. The German people since 1848 have been transformed through brutal philosophy and successful lying. They

are to-day high and low, educated and ignorant, utterly and monstrosly cruel.

Listen to a few of the things the German People were taught in order to prepare them for this war:

*Stirner* said:

“What does right matter to me? I have no need of it. \* \* \* I have the right to do what I have the power to do.”

*The Kaiser* said:

“Woe and death to all who shall oppose my will. Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission.”

*Von Gottberg* said:

“War is the most august and sacred of human activities.”

And again:

“Let us laugh with all our lungs at the old women in trousers who are afraid of war, and therefore complain that it is cruel and hideous. No! war is beautiful.”

*Pastor Lehmann* said:

“Germany is the centre of God’s plans for the world.”

*Bernhardi* said:

“Might is the supreme right.”

*Tannenberg* said:

“War must leave nothing to the vanquished but their eyes to weep with.”

The German troops have bettered that instruction. They have in many cases not left even eyes to weep with.

And having taught the people to accept those standards, listen to this:



*Kuhn* said:

"Must culture build its cathedrals upon hills of corpses, seas of tears, and the death rattle of the vanquished? Yes, it must."

*Heine* said:

"Not only Alsace-Lorraine but all France and all Europe as well as the whole world will belong to us."

*Chamberlain*, the renegade Englishman, said:

"He who does not believe in the Divine Mission of Germany had better go hang himself, and rather to-day than to-morrow."

*Frederick* said:

"All written Constitutions are scraps of paper."

And so we have this long list of crimes, not by any means yet complete. The crimes began appropriately, with self-violated honor; nothing was difficult after that. The people of Germany still think they know what dishonor is, what murder is, what rape is, but none of these things, within the good old German world governed by the good old Pagan German God and the Kaiser means what it means elsewhere. The inhibition laid against all these crimes still nominally holds as between Germans but has no significance in their outside relations, indeed to commit these crimes against outsiders is rather laid upon Germans and accepted by them as a duty and an evidence of loyalty and virtue.

The blasting indictment that lies to-day against the German people is not alone that they are guilty of crimes indescribable but that the military caste through a program deliberately adopted has made

them a nation of liars, cruel liars, the kind, as Irving Bacheller puts it "that made Hell famous".

And why did the military caste believe it to be necessary first to lie to their own people and then to lie wholesale through their so-called Ambassadors who as a matter of fact for years have been chiefs in an unprecedented army of espionage, Captains in the army of dishonor? Germany adopted this program in part because of a kind of natural obsession which made her leaders really believe in Teutonic superiority, partly because the people would not follow the military caste if they were told the truth, and partly from what seemed to be real necessity.

This war is the culmination of the German program which was stimulated at least by the world's program.

And what has been the world program?

That brings us to the primary cause of the war.

The primary cause of this war is a condition, a political condition inherited from previous centuries; a condition which in its history records the struggles of human society as certainly as the rocks tell the story of the evolution of the earth; a condition which has qualified and largely controlled the ambitions, the triumphs, the defeats, the aspirations of the human race; a condition which has served mankind but has also bound it and still binds it as with bands of steel. We have now reached the age in politics when, if democratic civilization is to survive, we must first slay this reptile and then break these bonds. Vital as the first duty is the second in due course will become even more important.

The chief human agent in the perpetuation of that political condition in relatively modern times, the man

who used it most effectively for the furtherance of his own purposes and his own ambitions and therefore the chief criminal is Frederick of Prussia, sometimes miscalled the Great, and apotheosized in eight volumes by Carlyle. The chief living criminal, who after all is merely carrying out Frederick's program, is William the Second, King of Prussia and German Emperor.

Back of William, back of Frederick, and still dominant in the world lies this condition, brutal, bestial, inhuman, monstrous, unintelligent, but nevertheless more powerful than all Kings and all Kaisers, the chief source indeed of all their authority. That condition expressed in terms of government we call the Doctrine of Sovereignty. That Doctrine is the law of the jungle; its morality is still the morality of the jungle. It was born in the struggle for existence, begun in the primeval ooze before either reason or conscience had been developed. It has yielded little to the reason or conscience of any nation as such; in Germany it has utterly overborne both.

It has persisted essentially unchanged against advancing intelligence and improved morality. It differs in no respect from the law followed by the cave-man. The cave-man evolved from his family a larger unit called the tribe, and that unit evolved a still larger unit called the clan, and that unit evolved a still larger unit called the state. When any state after bloody struggles became large enough or strong enough, it took its place as a unit in a little group of equals, and established what has been called a "balance of power". Frequently with others and occasionally alone it then forced smaller or weaker powers into a condition of semi-vassalage. Whenever any unit has thought

itself strong enough to disregard the "balance of power" so created, it has tried, and naturally tried, to dominate the entire world. The whole structure rested and still rests on essential savagery. Frederick saw that and taught Germany its brutal law. Frederick saw that a supreme trial of strength between these units was inevitable. The only doubtful questions were when would it come, and what people would be best prepared. Every citizen of every nation, democratic as well as autocratic, knew this in a hazy sort of way; every citizen of every sort of country has for centuries known in his heart that his life was forfeit at a moment's notice—if the state called for it. Every citizen for centuries has known that the call was sure to come, if not for him then for his sons. For centuries the governmental units of human society have either been fighting or they have lived in that condition of suspended hostility which we call peace. There was no doubt about what would happen. Men talked about permanent peace and deliberately perpetuated a condition which meant war. As a people we lived for a half-century on the theory that the brotherhood of man had been achieved and therefore we made no reasonable preparations for the struggle which was sure to spring out of the international system of which governmentally we were a part. Of all the great powers we were the most utterly illogical.

We preserved the savage underlying condition as completely in substance as Germany did. If a man anywhere advanced a program that would avoid its sinister perils, he was denounced as a theorist and a dreamer; that is still true. If a man faced the facts and demanded adequate provision for defense, he was

denounced as a "jingo," that is no longer true. If nations attempted to solve the problem as they did at The Hague they paltered and shuffled. Men have not yet been able—except within limited areas—to take the great step necessary to lift the world above the operation of this savage law.

The great individual criminals, living and dead, were both a product and a cause. They were the product of the age-long hostility between the units of organized society. They were a cause in that they not unnaturally seized opportunity and gathered into their own hands the power which society thrust at them. The Doctrine of Rule by Divine Right and the Doctrine of Sovereignty are very nearly expressions of the same idea in different forms. When Louis XIV said that he was the state he was only defining the Doctrine of Sovereignty in personal terms.

Democracies have built society—not governments—on the idea that all men can be trusted, that the average man is not a savage, that he is willing to concede the rights to others that he demands for himself. Through the development of science time and distance were annihilated; there are to-day no foreign lands except governmentally. Governments are as far apart to-day as they were before Watts and Morse and Bell and Field and Marconi were born. Governments in their relations are still unscientific, savage and medieval; the condition red in tooth and claw still remains.

The Reptilian age passed physically because conditions on the earth changed physically. There were upheavals from time to time. The land, the sea and the air became less and less suited to Saurians. Countless new and apparently less efficient forms of life ap-



peared. Naturally the reptiles fought the newer forms of life with increasing ferocity and slew them as they could. But finally when the hour came there was a vaster upheaval, conditions changed violently, the very atmosphere changed, and now all that physically remains of these early lords of the land, the sea and the air, is their impress in the clay or marl where they died when the earth became tired of them.

The dominance of the Doctrine of Sovereignty in the relations of nations makes this politically the age of the Saurian. Sovereignty asserted by either a democracy or an autocracy in the last analysis means war, and perhaps the most inconsistent and absurd, yet, under existing conditions, entirely necessary thing in the world is a democracy asserting its sovereignty against another democracy.

This war is that vaster upheaval, that violent change which is either to embalm William along with Alexander and Napoleon and all that tribe for the education and edification of future generations or it is to crush temporarily that form of political life which found expression in Magna Charta and the Declaration of 1776. Let us not deceive ourselves: **either thing can still happen**: Right does not always win. Barbarians conquered Rome; Archimedes was slain by an ignorant Roman soldier; Alexander Hamilton, the most luminous intelligence in our history, one of the greatest political thinkers of any age was killed by an adventurer.

As the evolution of the earth gradually drove away the miasm and mists in which the saurian flourished, so an increasing love of ordered Liberty has driven away in part the political mists and the mysteries on which Frederick and his kind have flourished. The



accumulation of public opinion like the accumulation of sediment in the shallow seas of the Mesozoic period has weakened the crust of the ancient order: there have been through the centuries violent upheavals, some before and some within our knowledge and memory: in 1776, 1792, 1848, 1861.

We can well imagine that when the earth began to tremble and the air to freshen and the waters to shift, the Saurians made a concerted assault upon all other forms of life. William and Franz-Joseph, possessed of reptilian morals, reptilian faith and reptilian purposes, had been listening to the rumblings of democracy for forty years. They smiled as they looked at their own equipment: their huge claws and beaks and teeth and armorplate and observed that the peoples who were stirring had no means of offense and little of defense. They laughed as they saw their enemy democracy, divided into twenty or thirty hostile camps, each professing a program of human brotherhood but internationally following the program of autocracy. They saw a generation ago that either they or democracy must go. They were logical. They did not palter. When the time came they struck as the great reptiles did.

The great criminal of this century, the man whose name will go down in history with Caligula and Attila is William the Second, German Emperor. But William after all represents a system, an idea. He is true to his class. He is morally a Saurian. The Great Reptiles probably despised the hordes of birds and fish and animals so indifferently equipped both for offense and defense; They naturally assumed that they themselves could not have been so wonderfully endowed except by

the wish of the Almighty. If they thought at all, they doubtless believed they were the chosen of God.

There was no such thing as reforming a Saurian: he had to go. There is apparently no such thing possible as reforming and humanizing a Hohenzollern or a Hapsburg: they must go.

The particular in which Frederick was a criminal and William is a criminal is this:

The people had begun to break down this ancient superstition. They took a great step forward in Magna Charta, another in the Declaration of 1776, another in the French Revolution, another in our Federal Constitution. The movement was so strong in recent times that peace has reigned for more than a hundred years between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

William's great crime—following the teaching of Frederick—lies in his bitter opposition to that movement resulting in a complete perversion of a great people. He has dragged a whole race back and down into the slime of medievalism. He must go. The German people, **of themselves**, must crawl up out of that slime and stand upright before men or be engulfed in the moral damnation that waits for all who stay there.

Why did the allied nations allow Germany to build up her terrible war machine? Why did they not stop it? Why did Great Britain when she realized the menace content herself merely with proposals that both nations take a holiday in war preparation? Why did Germany sneer at such proposals and immediately speed up her preparations?

Again the Doctrine of Sovereignty.

Great Britain could only protest and protest politely; to have done more would have meant war and would have established a dangerous precedent. If Sovereign Germany could be stopped in any program, however wicked, so might Great Britain be stopped in any program however beneficent. Germany was protected by this monstrous fiction and Great Britain and France were paralyzed by it. As a result preparations to rape and assassinate the world went on openly and shamelessly. That hideous folly controls the destinies of men to-day.

The cause of this war, the source of this great crime, is, therefore, the DOCTRINE OF SOVEREIGNTY. The great living criminal is William.

When William goes we shall have gained little if Sovereignty, as now defined, does not go with him. If the Doctrine survives, William will have successors as bad as he, possibly worse.

The great question is can men preserve all that is worth preserving in nationality without war? Or is there something in nationality that makes war necessary? Could governments effectively function as governments if they arranged their relations and settled their differences as individuals do, as the States of this Federal Union do?

Never has all the world been so nearly of one mind on any one subject as now. THERE MUST BE NO MORE SUCH WARS AS THIS. Everybody agrees. Very well. How then to achieve it.

Suppose the people of Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary had been in some sort of effective governmental touch for a generation earlier than August 1, 1914. They had

been for longer than that in touch in business. They had erected great international structures interwoven by all the relations of commerce and banking. They had no trouble in understanding each other. They did not fear each other. They trusted each other. They had in all those relations no desire to wrong each other. But in their governmental relations all was quite different. They all faced frontiers which were dead walls.

Here was a sharp line of demarcation: while the people told each other the truth, diplomats lied to each other; while the people dealt openly, diplomats spied on each other; while the people through their commerce gave and received benefits, diplomats planned ruin for each other. Out of the relation of the people war would probably never have sprung. Out of the relation of the diplomats war was certain, and continued, more wars are equally certain.

If, therefore, the people were able, in spite of the handicap of frontiers, of tariffs, of races and religions, to build up a vast peaceful fabric with which sovereignty had little to do except to embarrass it, isn't it likely that if allowed they could build up a like relation governmentally and if they did what would result?

Fortunately we have a concrete, a living, a convincing example. The thing has been done. The history of this country from the time when the Confederation of 1781 was seen to be a failure up to the present hour records about all the struggles, all the defeats and all the victories that will be recorded when humankind has made an end of its Fredericks, its Napoleons, and its Williams.

The same thing has been partly done in the British Empire. After this war the task will be completed

there. But completed in that Empire it will still leave the Anglo-Saxon world split in twain, it will leave France and Italy defenseless.

The great duty of the hour therefore is not merely to make an end of William but to make an end of the causes that helped to produce William. There is indeed a tide in the affairs of men: it will be at the flood when William fails. It will be the supreme opportunity. This century will not see another such opportunity.

Immediately after William passes, the Allied nations will begin to pull apart if they do not immediately come nearer together. With each passing day the nations will drift toward the old order: old feuds will revive, what seem to be economic necessities will reassert themselves, prejudices will be reborn—the call of Sovereignty will sound and the allied Governments, forced for a time by the perils of war into unified action will return to the status quo. Once that is re-established the great opportunity is lost.

There is abroad a curious feeling that while people can be internationally just in business they cannot be so in government. Men rated as wise sneer at internationalism, they tell you that a Federation of the Democracies of the world is impracticable; that it can't be done, and therefore why waste effort in trying to achieve the impossible. That was one of the arguments made by George Clinton and his followers in 1788 when he so nearly defeated the Federal Constitution in New York; one of the arguments used by Partick Henry in Richmond when he sought to keep Virginia out of the Union. My answer is that such a program is neither impracticable nor impossible, and no man, and certainly no leader, has any right to say



that, unless he at the same time admits his belief that man is incapable of self-government, his belief that our Declaration of 1776 was after all a fraud and our Great Republic the product of an accident.

Men are already talking about the war after the war. Victory therefore over Germany is not expected to settle many international questions. If this war is lost it will settle many international questions—until such time as Liberty can re-light her extinguished torch. If this war is won it should, although it may not, settle the future relations of Nations. But why should there be war after this war? What will cause it? I answer:—The very conditions, in different form, that caused this war: Sovereignty, the fiction that human rights behind frontiers are different from and are inherently in deadly hostility to identical human rights just over the border. I call that a fiction—it is unfortunately a terrible fact. It is a fact as real as that one man is white and another is black and another is brown and another is yellow. But while we can understand the causes that made this variety of color, and with color a variety of religions, and while we can understand how these fundamental differences could naturally create impenetrable barriers behind which fear and hate and misunderstanding would intrench themselves, it is not so easy to understand why this the greatest of all wars should be controlled by no such consideration. The amazing fact is that these, the most fundamental and presumably most controlling of conditions, are not controlling. The lines of division in this war are neither racial nor religious. In the beginning the division did not even follow lines which put Liberty on one side and tyranny on the other.



Russia certainly did not consciously enter the war in defense of human liberty and the reaction which has followed the destruction of the House of Romanoff, leaves Russia perhaps the greatest existing menace to self-government. What determined the lines of demarcation? Primarily the Doctrine of Sovereignty.

It is not difficult, under that doctrine, to understand how William persuaded himself that he was Vicegerent of the good old German Pagan God. He took up in statecraft the role of a political Torquemada. He believed, as Frederick did, that there must be an ultimate clash, a final trial of strength. Germany had been definitely preparing for forty years, Prussia for a hundred years. On the first of August, 1914, William believed that he had reached the hour of fate; therefore he struck. When Germany is beaten nothing fundamental will thereby have been decided. The war after the war will come—perhaps very soon, if the peoples of the world do not unite and put an end to the barbarism that now controls the relations of nations.

The preservation of nationality has long been the supreme purpose of government because under the bitter struggle for existence men saw safety only in the state. Governmentally men have been taught and are still taught to look upon men of other nations as their potential enemies. Unless the state can now be made a means to an end, unless the barriers that divide democracy from democracy can be broken down, let us stop chattering about world-peace; let us all become Prussianized in our morals and manners and motives; let us arm to the teeth and prepare for the battles that shall finally allow, even compel William or some other

—perhaps an Anglo-Saxon—to set his foot on the neck of the world.

If Democracy means anything it means everything. It doesn't mean just the rights of the citizens of this Republic. If all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, the relations of governments should not be such that men shall be forced to rob other men of what God gave them. No civilized man, as a citizen, wants to do that, and when the Germans, who alone seem to have that conscious purpose, have been beaten and reformed, if that be possible, governments must abandon a program by which they are themselves compelled to force men to do that.

Thomas Jefferson and the early Fathers led us out into a glorious dawn when they declared that Life and Liberty were the inalienable rights of ALL men. We have proudly and grimly assented to that truth. But until we entered this war it was for us little more than a dream beyond our own frontiers. We had been bound by the law of self-preservation, by the Doctrine of Sovereignty. When we entered this war we in effect invited all Democracies to unite with us and again break the chains that we broke in 1789. Can Democracy do that? On the answer to that question hangs the future of Liberty.

What democracy shall mean to our sons and daughters and to their successors will be determined first in the great battle now raging, in which Prussian autocracy is to be defeated and finally driven from power, and second in the success or failure of a federation of the democracies of the world following that battle. If Prussianism is victorious, democracy will for a long time survive only in political huts and caves. If

Prussianism is crushed, Democracy may become as splendid as its principles, as glorious as its professions. But will it?

Not if the Doctrine of Sovereignty survives; not if the state continues to be the supreme end and not a means to an end.

Send William to another St. Helena, toss the Hapsburgs onto the scrap-heap of history, and keep the present program otherwise, and you will have made little progress toward abiding peace. Why was Washington right when he said "In times of peace prepare for war"? Why is that maxim just as true to-day as it was a hundred years ago? Because democracy has had and has now no comprehensive and sufficient program; because liberty-loving men are divided into strictly limited and hostile camps; because each democracy is certain, under economic pressure, to develop greed for land, for dominance at sea; because democracies made up of fallible and ambitious men, ruled by the laws of sovereignty, cannot be trusted to be just; because the frontiers of democratic sovereignty mean war almost as certainly as the frontiers of autocracy mean war.

There are frontiers that do not mean war and we who live under that unparalleled achievement are only beginning to realize its prophetic power and its moral obligation. There are frontiers that preserve local self-government, the integrity of institutions and of states, and yet do not breed war. Such frontiers delimit the various States of this Union. That was not always true. There was a time—about a hundred and thirty years ago—when the frontiers of the American States meant just what frontiers in Europe mean now.

The Original Thirteen States tried to live together and at the same time preserve separate Sovereignty in its full significance. They failed. It could not be done. It will never be done.

The Confederation, a union between Sovereignities as such, became a travesty on government. Our existing Federal Union, a Federation, a union of peoples, is with all its imperfections the fairest hope of the world.

In its inception, construction and history, the Federal Union tells the Allies how they may organize peace.

Men talk about the difficulties of such a program! Go to Belgium, to Poland, to Serbia, to Armenia, and to slaughtered France! Call the expanding roll of our own beloved dead. Face the certainty that this is not the end but the beginning and then talk of difficulties.

Away with those who quibble about tariffs, and religions, and frontiers, and ancient prejudices. Of what importance are they now? We shall soon come to the hour of supreme crisis. What are we to do? Who shall then lead us? Not those who have been saturated with the precedents of absolute nationality; not those who have already reacted to the other extreme, the Socialists, the Bolsheviks who know not the meaning of ordered liberty.

In all the Babel of voices discussing the future relations of nations the one great voice that is clear and prophetic and powerful is the voice of Woodrow Wilson. It takes us no whither to say that we should have entered the war sooner. Most of us will regret so long as we shall live our long period of hesitancy.

Our delay in getting into the war will be costly. How costly to you and to me in money and in hearts'

blood we do not yet know. But under the President's leadership we have been through that travail of soul which enables us now to say to the Government "Slay the great reptile, no matter what it costs".

President Wilson in my opinion moved as rapidly as public opinion moved; he led it, and finally crystallized it by his timely and inspiring eloquence. We are all very wise now. It is easy, always easy, to be wise afterwards.

But in his vision of a post-bellum program, in his prophetic forecast of what must be done, if all this precious blood is not to be spilled in vain, the President stands above all other leaders of Nations and in really constructive utterances, unhappily, almost alone.

He has said that after this war Democracies must unite, not as States, not as Sovereignities, not as mere governments, but as people. There sounds the prophetic voice. In that lies the only process by which victory can be made worth all its dreadful cost. President Wilson's program calls for no surrender of liberty, no loss of political integrity, no weakening of local self-government; on the contrary it points the way to a larger world where lie the peace and the power that the Thirteen States and their thirty-five fellows have found under the Federal Constitution. A mere League of States will not do. A Partnership of Sovereignities will not do.

The key word is Federation.

Federation! Federation!!

"\* \* \* : for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved."

That is the Great new Evangel and Woodrow Wilson is its Prophet.

## A POLITICAL SUPERSTITION

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AN ADDRESS DELIVERED

NOVEMBER 3, 1918, AT THE NEW YORK AVENUE METHODIST  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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**W**E ARE now waging two wars. To be completely successful we must win both. The first is against Germany; the second is against a political superstition. We can win the first and lose the second. We cannot win the second in this generation—perhaps not in this century—unless we win the first. If we win the first and lose the second—and we can readily lose the second—our children's children may shout back at our shades anathemas in the form of the old interrogatory "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Some people have no patience with those who would now discuss what we are to stand for after the war against Germany has been won. What we are then to stand for will be largely determined by what we are thinking about now.

Men could be found as late as 1916 who became impatient when far-sighted men cried out that we were unready, that we must prepare. Earlier than that the citizen who demanded preparation for war was smiled at in private and liable to be hooted in public. As a result, we really began to prepare for war after we declared war.



The problems of nations like men's problems do not often begin abruptly nor do they end abruptly; they spring out of all that has gone before and the way they are solved and the effect of their solution upon the future is determined by the presence or absence of pre-vision and preparation. We were not prepared for war in April, 1917, because we had not grasped the fact that we could be brought into it. The situation was clear. The menace unmistakable. But we blinked the facts.

When the great hour comes in which we are to decide how the world is to be reconstructed after victory over Germany, and how that victory can be wisely and justly utilized, we shall again be unprepared if we go on blinking other facts that are just as obvious and just as sinister as Germany's war machine was before August 1, 1914.

Our immediate task, irrespective of everything else, is to win the first war through a complete military victory over Germany and her allies. The time for discussion about the completeness of that duty ended when the Congress declared war.

The second war we are now waging without knowing it, just as we were already waging war against Germany long before April 1917. We were irrevocably in the fight from the moment the torpedoes struck the "Lusitania". Many of us did not know that we were at war with Germany after that tragedy, but some of us knew it because we knew that two political ideals were then locked in a death grapple, that one of those ideals was ours, and we would not surrender it. It took two years to bring us physically into the fight, but the soul of this nation has been in the fight since the 7th of May,

1915, and the conscience of our people has been fighting Germany since the day when she forced Belgium to choose between death and dishonor.

For exactly the same reason we are now engaged in the second—shall I say the greater?—war. Most of us are unaware of the fact. We fight Germany and her allies for reasons perfectly and inspiringly stated and restated by President Wilson. Our reasons are both positive and negative, and because of some historical precedents the negative reasons are more remarkable and impressive than the positive.

We do *not* seek territory; we do *not* ask indemnities for ourselves. Such an attitude ought not perhaps to be remarkable, but it is. The instances where a nation has gone to war and really had no such motive have been so few that the fact is startling. After two and a half years of experience and observation we came to see that the struggle in Europe—quite apart from the wrongs inflicted on us—was a fight over an irreconcilable issue: Divine Right vs. Democracy. So we deliberately and after full discussion took our place in the ranks of Democracy.

In the second war we fight a political superstition. We see evidences of its beginning in the cry that there must be no more wars like this, in leagues to promote peace, in the proposed League of Nations,—an idea which even Germany and her allies profess to approve.

All these movements are unconscious recognitions of the existence of a fundamental fault in civilization. All of them seek to correct that fault, but all of them are palliatives merely. Not one goes to the root of the difficulty. All are skirmishes in the great struggle that is coming.

It is easy to understand why the differences between Divine Right and Democracy are irreconcilable; but what many people, including most statesmen, do not see is that the Doctrine of Sovereignty enforced by a Democracy against another Democracy is only Divine Right in another garb. The King talks about his sacred person. Democracy talks about its sacred soil. That Autocracy should insist on Divine Right and absolute sovereignty is logical and necessary; that Republics—government through representation, governments based on inalienable rights—should do the same thing as against other Republics is deplorable, and that they should do it and still believe themselves to be Democratic is amazing.

The second war I call a war against a political superstition. It will flame up into a blaze when the Allies have disposed of the Hun. Unless the Allied Republics then recognize that the wolf, Autocracy, hides in the robes of Unconditioned Sovereignty, the second war will be lost, and victory in the first war will be frittered away. Unless we then smash the frontiers that divide the United States and Great Britain and France, no progress toward lasting peace will have been made. War lies in those frontiers. Let us not deceive ourselves. Great Britain is the only nation with which during our existence we have had two wars. In the last hundred years we have repeatedly escaped other wars with her only by an eye-lash. And naturally. If two good men, peace-loving, law-abiding, meet and have a difference in a frontier town, where law is more or less uncertain and it is known that the man who shoots first has the better of the argument, one or the other is likely to shoot. If

those same men had a like difference where law not only existed but was effectively administered, neither would think of shooting, in fact neither would carry a gun.

Notwithstanding the close co-operation now between the Allies, we have not forgotten the disasters that befell up to a year subsequent to our entrance into the war, chiefly because of confusion in council; council was confused because each of the Allies fought as a separate sovereignty. Victory is coming now because all the Allies finally subordinated sovereignty and created a controlling authority. That condition is really more necessary in peace than in war. When Germany surrenders the danger is that all this will end. The Allies will immediately reassert their separate authority. The barriers that were thrown down will be re-erected. The dead-lines called frontiers will be re-drawn. Men who could fight together under one commander, ready to die for a common cause, will refuse to live together under a common government and work together for interests that are substantially identical. Democracy will separate from Democracy, not because it is necessary but because of a superstition. War against this superstition is now going on and will then take definite form.

Germany's attempt to destroy Europe and finally to conquer the world was not a new or a strange madness. France, glorious France, made the same attempt a little more than a hundred years ago. France went mad under the inspiring leadership of a great military genius. Her aim was glory. Victor Hugo says that Napoleon failed because he troubled God; that Waterloo was not a battle, but a change of front on the part of the Universe.

Germany went mad for quite different reasons. Her madness began with Frederick who saw that in the struggle for existence between nations force would ultimately be the last word. He taught that belief to the Prussians. Then the world suddenly shrank through scientific developments and the nations were crowded together. Governmentally the struggle for existence became intense. Sovereignty, which admits no law higher than its own, was thrust violently against sovereignty, and forced to deal with problems of increasing complexity. There was no real law. There was a makeshift, a thing of shreds and patches, called international law. The belief that only the strong, the prepared, could survive, called for a philosophy which would justify whatever procedure seemed necessary to maintain a nation's integrity. How easy from this to evolve the German creed: that Germans were supermen; that their kultur was superior to all other civilizations; that it was the will of God that it should be imposed on all others; that war the necessary instrument was not only justifiable but noble and beautiful. Professing to defend her existence but really planning to assassinate the world, Germany worked steadily and consistently for forty years. She spread a system of espionage over all the earth; she became an international burglar and through her so-called ambassadors was admitted to the homes of friendly governments where she proceeded to survey the house and corrupt the servants. She became insanely jealous because Great Britain was powerful at sea; she raged at the Monroe Doctrine. She taught her people to be hard. Lying herself to friendly powers, the disease spread through the body politic. From



lying to cruelty is a short step and the German people readily took it.

Then came August 1st, 1914, when the All Highest thought the hour of fate had struck. Between that hour and this lies the story of German blasphemy, bestiality, cruelty and lying, together with amazing efficiency and the brute courage of the jungle. That Frederick, in his time, could see no issue but war out of the struggle between states is perhaps not to be wondered at: he was medieval though logical; but William is more medieval than Frederick was. The humanizing influence of modern life that made France illogical and civilized, Great Britain tolerant and unsuspicious, and the United States a political fools' paradise, left Germany untouched. She never for a moment forgot the law of the jungle. In the face of all the world she built her war machine, at which in the beginning Great Britain and the United States laughed. Then when it began to look formidable Great Britain mildly protested and proposed a holiday. Then Germany showed her teeth and moved swiftly to the cataclysm of the last four years.

My point is that back of the lying monster that the German of to-day is, lies a cause, a cause that has utterly transformed the German of 1848 or eliminated him. That cause is the inherent savagery of the Doctrine of Sovereignty; it means force, it means the survival of the strong, it means war. Germany was logical. Democracies were not. That Doctrine as between Democracies is clearly a superstition—but also a present and a fearsome fact. The second war will be fought—is now being fought—over what shall be done with it.



Through the consciousness of the masses of the world is now rushing the conviction that while this is a holy war and must be won by the Allies, somebody sometime made a great mistake which must be corrected. They cry with St. Paul: "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" There is forming a deep resolution that this awful tragedy must never be repeated. They look for leaders, unconsciously now, because they are blinded by the dust and blood of the struggle. But they will soon look consciously. And what do the great leaders of the world offer as the solution of this hideous problem?

A League of Nations.

Civilization is not much more than a veneer anywhere. Scratch a civilized, self-governing citizen, apply certain tests and you soon come to the savage. I have read that American Indians, college-bred, who have been and are with the boys "over there", when they go over the top bring back trophies but they do not bring helmets, they bring scalps. We are all so educated from infancy that when we think of our country as really menaced by any other country, civilization slips off like a cloak. As the world is organized to-day that plan of education is perfectly sound.

Of course the leadership that shall lift the democratic world out of this international medievalism ought to come from this country. And why? Because this Federal Union in a world devastated and all but ruined by war, stands as the great and single example of how sovereignty can be smashed and at the same time exalted, and war—or at least such wars as this—avoided. It is as simple as making an egg stand on end.

Smash the political fiction that educates Americans to believe that Canadians are their potential enemies and vice versa. Smash the stupid prejudice which makes us fear that we couldn't politically live with France while to-day we glorify France and send our boys to die for her. Stamp out forever the work of that German-English King who split the Anglo-Saxon world one hundred and forty years ago.

The only remedy proposed for this fundamental fault in civilization is a League of Nations. How the old prejudices stick! Have we so soon forgotten the farce and near-tragedy of our own Confederation—which was a League of Nations? Are we, under the Federal Union, like the shipwrecked men who in their lifeboat drifted into the waters of the Amazon and were dying of thirst with fresh water all about them? Who should know as we do the difference between a League and a Federation? What other people have been led from political chaos into ordered liberty by an Alexander Hamilton and a John Marshall? And yet in the war against this ancient political superstition, already on, what position we shall take when we become conscious of the struggle and formally enter it is in doubt. Somebody says: "Your theory is all very well but be practical. What about the tariff?" In the face of the deadly cost of this war and the shame of permitting a continuance of conditions that may not only allow but force a repetition of it, to suggest the tariff as an argument seems almost a joke. But let us consider that. Put in one great pyramid all the money collected at all the custom-houses of all the nations of the world since the dark ages and it will not equal the pyramid of debt contracted by the belligerents since August 1,

1914. In a League of sovereign nations each would reserve the right to fix its own tariff of course, and the tariff would be one of the reasons why any such enterprise would fail. So long as Republics assert sovereignty against other Republics the tariff is as proper and necessary a weapon as machine guns are in actual war. Between leagued political units the tariff would remain. Between Federated political units there could be no tariff; it would be as impossible as a tariff between Massachusetts and New York, or between Iowa and Illinois.

That means that not all the world, not even all of the world that is republican in form, could be immediately admitted to such a Federation. It should include at first the United States, Great Britain and her self-governing Dominions, France, Belgium and perhaps Japan and Italy. These States should not form a League; they should do in effect what the Thirteen States did between 1787 and 1789: they should create a new and greater state related to all member states as our Federal Government is to our forty-eight States. Other nations could be admitted as we admit States to this Federal Union,—whenever they qualified and enabling acts were passed.

But again someone says: "Would you voluntarily qualify your citizenship in the United States?" To which I reply: "I would qualify and thereby glorify it, just as the citizens of New York exalted their citizenship and their State when they entered the Federal Union."

The second war will progress to the point where a long forecast can be made, at the peace table where the first war is settled. Then the Allies will tell Germany

and her associate nations what their boundaries are thereafter to be and what they must pay. Following that the second war will begin to take form.

If the Allies are then so blind to the lessons of history that they do not see the supreme opportunity and rise to it; if they patch up a *modus vivendi* which takes the form of a mere League in which the units are sovereignties; if they follow as a model our Articles of Confederation and not our Federal Constitution; if they follow the teachings of George Clinton and Patrick Henry and not the teachings of John Marshall and Alexander Hamilton, then victory in the first war won at such fearful cost will be frittered away and the second war will advance to the condition of physical combat as soon as the several sovereign allies have sufficiently recovered in physical strength and resources.

Unquestionably the people of the allied countries are ready for a great forward step. What of the leaders?

In President Wilson's message to Congress, delivered December 4, 1917, I thought I heard the voice of Alexander Hamilton. He then declared directly for a Union of Peoples and distinguished that from a mere union of governments; he declared for a Federation as distinguished from a League.

In his address in New York on September 27, 1918, he went no farther than a League. In a later utterance\* he apparently abandons all idea of federation and says:

"I, of course, meant to suggest no restriction upon the free determination of any nation of its own economic policy, but only that whatever tariff any nation might deem necessary for its economic service, be that tariff high or low, it should apply equally to all foreign nations."

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\*Letter to Senator Simmons.

Any tariff determined solely by the seeming necessities of a nation means economic war, means absolute sovereignty, means international anarchy, means physical war ultimately.

Ex-President Taft proposes the League to Enforce Peace. This League would be only our old Confederation in another form. It is merely a proposal to inaugurate a program which will inevitably lead to confusion. It is a proposal to do what the Thirteen States did and then repudiated as inadequate. It is a proposal to coerce states admitted to be sovereign. That was the supreme issue in our Civil War. The Southern States never admitted that they had really surrendered sovereignty. If they were still sovereign, then the Union could be dissolved. Therefore it is that Lincoln was so utterly right when he said the issue was not slavery but the preservation of the Union. The Essence of the League to Enforce Peace is a very old idea. It has been repeatedly tried; has repeatedly failed; and has repeatedly been abandoned.

Ex-President Roosevelt rages at all Leagues and advocates the principles that powerfully influenced Germany and drove her toward madness. He calls for universal military training, a great navy, a great army and defiance to all the world.

As against the later ideas of President Wilson and the suggestions of Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt is at least logical; they are not. Mr. Roosevelt accepts the brutal doctrine of sovereignty, would not apparently abandon it for any other suggestion, and then frankly faces the inevitable consequences. Unless we make a fundamental change in the relations of states Mr. Roosevelt is right.



Of the three President Wilson alone seems for a moment to have seen the light, but it quickly faded.

In other nations great names are associated with approval of a League of Nations. Not one, however, has definitely stated what the League he has in mind exactly should be. None dares seemingly to declare for the necessary order of a new world. None sees, apparently, that world-democracy will soon face a crisis as great as that which faced the democracies of America in 1789. The crisis of 1789 was gloriously passed under the leadership of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall. They led the people up out of the slough of unconditioned sovereignty, tariffs, suspicion and fear into the rational democracy of our Federal Union.

Where are the men who are to lead us, and other democracies, as we face the supreme opportunity which peace will bring? The crisis will be singularly like that which followed the Peace of Paris. But with this difference: in 1783 the Confederation—a League of Nations—had already been created. It took years to demonstrate its impotence. When peace comes we shall have no existing confederation to get rid of. We shall have a clean blank page on which to write. What shall we write there?

Within five years the world has lost in money and manhood more than it ever lost in any previous century, in any previous two centuries. The appalling cost and demoralization are alone sufficient to show that the fault is fundamental and not personal; it lies behind the Kaiser; it is not even national; it reaches back of Germany to the structure of civilization itself.

With Germany beaten and a League of Nations



formed, nothing fundamental has been changed, no real corrective has been applied, no assurance has been given the people of the world that their splendid fight and unselfish sacrifices have been made worth while. We need leaders now who will do for the allied powers what John Marshall and Alexander Hamilton did for the Thirteen States. The Federal Constitution was a revolution in democracy. Never before is there a recorded instance where thirteen states which considered themselves sovereign, voluntarily surrendered their petty ambitions and merged their sovereignty into a larger power charged with responsibility for all interstate questions—and yet directly representative of the people. Will the second and greater revolution come?

Thus far our leaders do not lead; they do not see the light, or, if they see it, they are afraid of it.

The second war is on, the great political superstition is approaching the bar of public opinion. If it is found guilty and condemned, then for the first time the political faith formulated in our Declaration of Independence will be the faith of Democracy, not merely of this Democracy, but of Democracy—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will really inhere in all responsible men and not, as now, only in those who are prepared, always prepared for war.

Viscount Grey tells a story of a native chief in Africa, who protested to a British official against having to pay any taxes at all. The British official explained that these taxes were used to keep order in the country, with the result that men and women and the flocks and herds and possessions of every tribe were safe, and each could live in its own territory without fear or disturbance, and that the payment of taxes was

for the good of all. The effect of this explanation was to make the chief very angry. Before the British came, he said, he could raid a neighbor, return with captives and captures of all sorts and be received in triumph by the women and the rest of his tribe. The need for protecting his own tribe from similar raids he was willing to undertake himself. "Now", he said, "you come here and tell me that I ought to like to pay taxes to be prevented from doing this, and that makes me mad".

How much of the frank confession of this simple African lies concealed in the instinctive objection made by the average citizen when asked to support a Federation rather than a League of Nations? I wonder—how much. The average man approves of a League because in his deepest heart under that program he reserves always the right to raid his neighbors; he doesn't think of it in just that way but that is what it means—that is what complete sovereignty means.

Already Great Britain and the United States are preparing for industrial war on each other. The battle will soon shift from the Marne to the sea, from the trenches to the Custom Houses. The weapons will chiefly be those of economic machine guns called tariffs.

The struggle will go on if we form a mere League and not a Federation, until the nations are healed of this war, financially and physically, until one nation believes itself strong enough to stand alone. Then on some pretext of necessity or of so-called "honor", like the otherwise peaceful citizen of a frontier town, someone will shoot, and the horrors of the last four and a half years will return.

WHAT SHALL WE DO  
WITH VICTORY ?





## WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH VICTORY?

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AN ADDRESS, 1918

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**W**E HAVE helped to win a complete victory over the enemies of ordered liberty. What are we and the Allies—together the responsible, liberty-loving, self-governing nations of the world,—now to do with victory?

By that question I do not mean how shall we dispose of the immediate problems of territory, of reparation and restoration, of self-determination and all that. We can, indeed we must assume that at the peace table all these matters will be dealt with effectively, perhaps sternly, certainly justly. I mean something more far-reaching, something that will give the justice which we assume in all those decisions a wider application and a new significance.

This war has been an earth shaker. It has applied the acid test to civilization. It has made some things clear—so clear that we shall fail to understand them only if we forget our own history, only if we become morally and socially deaf and blind.

As yet we get only a confused impression of all the mighty forces that make up the panorama—beginning in that little town in Bosnia in June, 1914, and ending on the eleventh of November, 1918, with that skulking, huddled figure in Holland. But that is enough to

show that the movements in this war were fundamental, elemental, and that no one man was wholly at fault. It is clear also, I think, that no single people was wholly at fault. One man must pay the price. One people must pay the price. You remember what Christ said:

“Woe unto the world because of offenses \* \* \*  
but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.”

The primary fault that led to this war lies in the very structure of civilization.

Kings talk—or did talk—about their sacred persons; nations, even democracies, talk about their sacred soil. Both mean practically the same thing. Both are the product of a condition evolved through centuries, under which the surface of the earth has been divided into curiously shaped areas around which dead-lines are drawn and between which is an intangible strip where there is no law, except that thing of shreds and patches which we call international law. Every nation, free or otherwise, is surrounded by potential anarchy. No Man's Land lies in the very heart of democracy waiting for the day when it shall be plowed with shells and drenched with human blood: it lies, to be specific, on our northern border and stretches across more than 3,000 miles of mutually unguarded frontier; it lies on the sea and lurks in that cryptic phrase “the freedom of the seas”. If I understand what President Wilson means by freedom of the seas—and I sometimes wonder whether anyone understands it—Great Britain will never agree to it, and as a matter of fact never could agree to it. As a consequence the basis of grave differences between Britain and ourselves is likely to be



laid down at the peace table. Already the question of the relative size of the British Navy and our Navy is being mooted. We shall probably soon have a larger merchant fleet than Great Britain has. Necessarily we shall plan to protect it. On the other hand the British Empire from its very nature cannot let her Navy be less than the Navy of any other nation. The contest in sea-power that went on so long between Great Britain and Germany and finally culminated in this war is apparently about to be transferred to the British Empire and the United States. Could anything be more stupid—not to say criminal?

That sinister condition springs out of the demands of sovereignty, which is at once the controlling fact and the controlling fault in civilization.

Sovereignty is the supreme law not only over a nation's people but over its relations with other peoples. Sovereignities make treaties with other Sovereignities, it is true, but the interpreters of such treaties are the nations that make them, each for itself, and sometimes the nations disagree and sometimes they are interpreted by military necessity and sometimes they are held to be only "scraps of paper". This has been the rule of civilization for a long time and is the rule to-day. Therefore we have between states so-called questions of "honor", issues that we admit are non-justiciable. When we say that a question is non-justiciable we mean that civilization has no court in which that question can be adjudicated. Self-respecting, liberty-loving men know that the greatest issues that can arise in the world, issues that are certain to arise, can be settled only by the arbitrament of war. That condition is not the fault of any man or of any

people. It grew out of the evolution of society. But woe be to liberty-loving men if they fail to correct that fault when the hour strikes. I hold that the hour has struck.

Since sovereignty was evolved out of necessity and semi-savagery, humanity has progressed. Knowledge has grown. Morals have improved. Science has developed and abolished the vast spaces and the time that earlier divided nations and justified their fears.

As a result the nations in recent years have been forced to deal with the problems of modern life while bound by medieval rules.

The law of national existence still says "Be ready; you are surrounded by enemies; safety lies only in your own good right arm." That is the voice of medievalism. The Kaiser heard that voice and heeded it. The law of national existence says that only the strong, the ready, the ruthless may survive. That again is the voice of medievalism. The Kaiser heard that voice also and heeded it literally. How easy from this, indeed how logical—I had almost said necessary—to evolve the German philosophy. If a man believes his life is in danger and sees a way by which he thinks he can escape, he is certain to evolve reasons and plenty of them that will justify any act that seems necessary to his safety. The German leaders taught by Frederick accepted the Doctrine of Sovereignty in its entirety. They therefore needed a philosophy that would justify and glorify war, and the German philosophers quickly provided it. From that to frightfulness and bestiality and lying and unbelievable cruelty was, for the German, a short and an easy step, and for those inhuman crimes Germany must pay.

The Doctrine has reaped many grim harvests; but it has now reaped its greatest harvest: eight million men dead; twenty million more maimed in some way; two hundred and twenty billion dollars of debt. An unprecedented sacrifice! An unparalleled price paid! For what? The masses of mankind now mute will ultimately put that question to the leaders of the world and to the institutions of the world: FOR WHAT?

Primarily of course for victory. Victory that can be made greater than all the calamity, worth more than all the loss,—victory that for the first time in all the tides of life has placed liberty-loving men in control of the destinies of mankind.

*What shall we do with victory?* In what we do with victory lies the answer to the peoples' interrogatory: FOR WHAT?

Our boys went into this war not merely to defeat Germany; they went into this war after being swept by the flame of a righteous wrath; they fought as crusaders; they conquered as crusaders; they want the crusader's reward. The people won this war and they demand relief from an intolerable condition. They want leaders who will lead, not so-called statesmen who only dicker and trade. If our leaders do not soundly use this dearly-bought victory, if they go on tinkering with worn-out machinery, and sovereignty as between liberty-loving men is a bit of worn-out machinery, if they fail to give a satisfactory answer to that imperative FOR WHAT?, there will come here and in all democratic countries a bitter day of reckoning.

Therefore, and because it lies in the very heart of the problem, I hold that sovereignty as now enforced

is a greater issue than the specific questions of the peace table.

We have sovereignty with us always, even though we do not recognize it, in peace as well as in war.

Do you know for example, of anything quite as agonizing as the usual ambassadorial speech—post-prandial or official? Why does your Ambassador—who is not infrequently a man of parts, even of eloquence—indulge only in harmless and stupid platitudes? Why does he verbally pick his way along after dinner as gingerly as though he were inspecting a TNT factory? The reason is obvious; he represents sovereignty. There is gunpowder even in times of peace in the relations of friendly powers. The relations of one absolute authority with another absolute authority create a No Man's Land between, which may already be full of old shell holes and your Ambassador must watch his steps.

If we admit that the fault which led to this war cannot be charged wholly to one man or to one nation but is fundamental, let us beware of assuming that victory corrects that fault. It does nothing of the sort. Neither is the fault corrected merely because liberty-loving men now control the destinies of the world. Liberty-loving men can correct the fault. But will they?

Political leaders everywhere know that there is a widespread demand for a fundamental corrective. The response to that demand has taken the form of a powerful movement which aims to establish a League between the United States and the Allied Powers. A proposal of that sort will hold the centre of the stage at the Peace Congress. Can any mere League of

Sovereign States discharge the present duty and meet the present obligations of free men? Will it correct the fundamental Fault? I think it may rather emphasize the fault; and for that conviction I believe I can give substantial reasons.

Perhaps the frankest concrete statement of what a League of Nations is and must be, fundamentally, ever put out is contained in the London *Spectator* of October 26.

After saying that the fate of the civilized world and of all human progress hangs on whether we take the right or the wrong path in dealing with the problem of a League of Nations, it submits a sketch of a Constitution for such a League.

It then makes the amazing statement that the basis of its suggestion is "the extraordinarily able, far-seeing, and well-drawn document which, to the great credit of the English-speaking race, was produced by the Independent American Colonies directly after they had freed themselves from the control of the British Parliament".

By this the *Spectator* means not our Federal Constitution, but the Articles of Confederation drawn in 1777, adopted in 1781 and abandoned in 1789.

At first blush this statement is a facer. An American can hardly read without anger the suggestion that we can now save the world by a plan which we have already tried out, a plan which was so impotent in practice that the government created by it lost first the respect of the nations of Europe, then the respect of the constituent states, and then its own self-respect. Our fathers had to abandon it to preserve their liberties.

But while the suggestion is shocking, it is useful. It

flashes upon our consciousness as almost no other illustration could just what is meant by a League of Sovereignties, and drives home the insufficiency and danger of any such plan.

Observe the first paragraph in the *Spectator's* proposed Constitution:

Only sovereign states are entitled to be members of the League and each member retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence.

That is the essence of our old Articles of Confederation, and the chief cause of the Confederation's failure.

Observe now the opening words in the Preamble of our Federal Constitution:

"We, the people."

Here you have two great systems under which states may unite: the first is Confederation, the second is Federation. It has been our high privilege to test both.

In the first system the units are states, under the *Spectator's* plan sovereign states; as the thirteen states claimed to be under our Confederation;

In the second the units are individuals on whom the government acts directly;

In the first no effective court for the adjudication of questions now non-justiciable is possible;

In the second effective courts are at once created and non-justiciable questions disappear;

From a government formed under the first a participating state may retire;

From a government formed under the second no state may retire except by successful rebellion;

Government under the first can have no real power of taxation;



Government under the second must have full power of taxation;

All governments formed under the first have been impotent and ephemeral;

This government, founded under the second, is one hundred and twenty-nine years old and never so strong as now.

To ask free men who know history, when faced with problems singularly like the problems our fathers faced in 1788 and 1789, to adopt as the basis of world sanity and peace, the principles of the Confederation rather than the principles of our Constitution is almost as grotesque and reactionary as it would be to ask us now to tear up the Federal Constitution itself.

Having slain autocracy shall free men now destroy the system that gave irresponsible authority its opportunity, its incentive? Or shall the free nations of the world enter into the same old competition in a different form? Shall we separate from our Allies; re-erect the old barriers; reconstruct the economic machine-gun nests called tariffs; call up all the old prejudices; rehabilitate the old fears; limp off each to its own bit of earth; reassert the doctrine of unconditioned sovereignty and proceed to get ready for the next war? "Ah", says the advocate of a League, "that is just what we propose to prevent." I answer that a League of Sovereignties not only will not prevent all that; *it will compel it*. To qualify as a member of such a League a state must be sovereign and must act as a sovereignty; that means the dead-line of frontiers, and tariffs, and all the ancient fears and prejudices, and continued preparation for war. With or without a League the United States and the Allies by the sheer

centrifugal force of Sovereignty will rapidly revert to the *status quo*. The only alternative is the alternative that our fathers faced and accepted in 1789: Federation.

It is clear, if we would save ourselves alive, that we must do one of two things: either arm to the teeth and be ready by land and by sea and in the air—and every other considerable power must do the same thing; or as between ourselves and Great Britain at least, we must qualify the Doctrine of Sovereignty. As long as the great nations preserve full sovereignty none can disarm. None would dare to.

Already a semi-official statement has been made that in any event Great Britain will not surrender control of the seas. Who under existing proposals will say that she could safely take any other position? If she surrenders control of the seas to a mere loose League, the members of which retain their full sovereignty, she imperils the liberties of the world. If she alone maintains supremacy of the seas, that ought to end all discussion of any proposed League, because a compact preceded by a concession of overwhelming power to one of the contracting parties would be no compact at all. If Great Britain and the United States were federated, the questions that lie on the seas would disappear as between them and would substantially disappear from the world, because that federation would easily be master of war.

The nations of the earth, even the free nations, are now exactly like a group of naturally peaceable, law-abiding men in a frontier town where there is no real law. Each walks about armed, with his gun-hand free. He has no desire to shoot, but he knows that

someone will shoot sooner or later, and when he hears that there is an outlaw around he puts on another gun. He knows that the man who shoots first has an advantage. The pistol shot that shall set that town aflame, as the pistol shot in Sarajevo set the world on fire, may come from a perfectly respectable man over some question of honor, or someone may have a fit of nerves and shoot, or a gun may accidentally be discharged—in any one of these contingencies each knows that the shooting will instantly become general.

Put those same men in relation where law rules, where no questions of "honor" are tolerated, where no differences can arise that are non-justiciable, and none of them would think of shooting, indeed none could because none would carry a gun. The outlaw would automatically disappear from that community.

Government under the Articles of Confederation—which was a true League of Nations—gives us a perfect historic background; here were thirteen states more or less armed, eyeing each other sharply, with their gun-hands free. Each state claimed to be sovereign, each levied tariffs, each robbed its neighbors as it could, each cordially hated all the others and did just what a Sovereign State might be expected to do as a member of a Confederation. Under those conditions as soon as the unifying pressure of war was removed government became a travesty and narrowly escaped being a tragedy.

These same States, when they ceased to be a League, when they became a Federation, give us another historic background and a startling contrast. Government at once became effective; questions of "honor" disappeared; national credit was established, and in-

side of two years the thirteen original commonwealths began that expansion which has since added thirty-five stars to the original flag.

Here you have the problem and its solution. Here you have the necessary fundamental change. Here you have the fundamental fault corrected. The people everywhere demand a program which will banish such wars as this. It is indeed time to ask:

What shall we do with victory?

Shall we go on carrying guns? Or within the Anglo-Saxon world at least—and why not within the Anglo-Latin world—shall we institute the reign of law?

Shall we go on regarding Canadians, for example, as potential enemies? Or shall we smash the barriers that divide the Anglo-Saxon world? We were divided one hundred and forty-two years ago by the act of a mad German King. If another mad German King should be instrumental in reuniting us it might go far to rescue the reputation of both Kings from utter infamy.

What does the widespread movement for a League rather than for a Federation of Nations really mean? Its advocates are patriots. Some of them are great patriots. They include William H. Taft, Lloyd George, Viscounts Grey and Bryce and President Wilson. Once and once only has the President sounded the prophetic note, once and once only, has he advocated federation. That was in his address to the Congress, December 4, 1917. None of the others named, within my knowledge, has ever risen to the height touched by Mr. Wilson in that address.

Does not this movement reveal a consciousness on the part of its advocates that unqualified nationality is now a menace? Isn't it an admission that Sover-

eignty is the old bottle into which we are otherwise obliged to pour the new wine of modern life? Isn't it also a confession, a less than frank confession, that we know what ought to be done and are afraid to do it? Isn't it a compromise, a bit of patchwork? Will it not certainly fail now as it failed when we tried it earlier?

This is the hour for action. Not again in a century unless we grasp this opportunity will the United States and the British Empire be so near each other. Not again in a century shall we otherwise see Britain and ourselves even temporarily yielding sovereignty to France.

A Military League of Nations gave us the confusion and disaster that so cruelly punished the Allies up to the hour when President Wilson insisted on a unified command under Foch. A temporary Federation of military power quickly gave us victory.

Since Alexander Hamilton thundered for the Constitution in Poughkeepsie, since Marshall and Madison pleaded for the Constitution in Richmond, liberty-loving men have faced no such crisis and opportunity as this.

What shall we do with victory?

Shall we make Germany pay? Yes.

But there are crimes that cannot be punished adequately and Germany has committed them. There are losses that are absolute.

Shall we restore Alsace and Lorraine to France and end the ambitions of irresponsible power? Yes.

But having done that and having established all the points on which the armistice was based, what have we really achieved?

Have we satisfied the demands of our crusaders?

Have we answered the imperative **FOR WHAT?** of the people?

Have we corrected any fundamental fault in the relations of nations?

Have we eliminated non-justiciable questions?

Have we created any competent court where issues that otherwise mean war can be judicially determined?

Have we been true to our own great traditions?

I think not.

Let us hope that President Wilson at the peace table or afterwards will return to his great utterance of December 4, 1917, and insist as he then did that the post-bellum partnership of free nations, to use his exact words: “ \* \* \* must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments”,— a Federation in other words, and not a Confederation. A post-bellum League of Sovereign States would lead us back and not forward, it would lead toward confusion and not toward order. Before we join another Confederation we must forget or repudiate about the brightest page in our history.

A post-bellum Federation, of the Anglo-Saxon world at least,—and why not of the Anglo-Latin world?— would take its inspiration from Independence Hall and not from Potsdam; it would react to the philosophy of the Federalist and not to the philosophy of Bernhardt; it would within that world correct the fundamental fault; it would solve their problems on the seas; it would create between the federated states a court in which issues that otherwise mean war could be adjudicated; it would move the world away from the shambles of sovereignty and hasten the coming of the day when “the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled”.



## THANKSGIVING: A RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL

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FROM THE NYLIC AGENTS' BULLETIN, NOV. 23, 1918.

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**O**N THE twenty-eighth day of this month, as indicated by President Wilson, the citizens of the United States, in accordance with their religious faith, each group in its own place and way will render thanks for the speedy ending of the great war.

It is difficult to make our thank-offering seem unselfish. We have relatively suffered so little.

We are thankful for the happy circumstance that placed us in the Western world so far away from the ambitions of Czars and Kaisers. We are thankful for our great forebears, who so wisely laid the foundations of the Republic that we were a united and liberty-loving people when the great crisis came.

We are thankful that for a hundred years liberty-loving men and women had come to us from all the earth and swelled our man-power and our material wealth to unmatched figures.

We are thankful that a tempest of righteous wrath swept over us when the Lusitania was sunk, when Edith Cavell was shot.

We are thankful that when after infinite forbearance our President called us to arms, the response was so complete and so undivided.

We are thankful that we are the fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters of the boys who stopped the Hun at Chateau-Thierry, and through the Argonne Forest drove back the Kaiser's picked troops and broke his line.

We are proud that half-trained boys coming from the homes of free men are able to hold and beat back the trained troops of militarism.

We are thankful that our boys were clean fighters, that the children love them, that women were safe with them.

We are thankful because in a supreme test all our fondest beliefs as to what makes a sound citizenry were sustained, because the descendants of the men who fought at Lexington and Yorktown showed themselves worthy of their great sires.

We are proud that we entered the war for no selfish motive, glad that bestiality and cruelty and lying and sordid aims could rouse us to righteous wrath and send us across three thousand miles of water to stand in defense of human rights.

We mourn with those who mourn in our own and in all lands.

But chiefly we are thankful because of this:

**Men who love liberty are for the first time in control of the destinies of the world.**

This creates a great opportunity and we are thankful that we, at a critical time, were able to strike one of the decisive blows that created this unprecedented condition.

We have paid a heavy price, but very little when compared with what France and Belgium and Serbia

and Poland and Armenia have paid—vastly less than Italy and the British Empire have paid.

We have tried to express our obligation to those who have suffered in our stead, through the Red Cross and the other relief organizations. As a country we have given privately several hundred million dollars for relief, and through our Government we have fed the hungry and clothed the naked. All this is a form of thanks, inadequate, but something.

Let us hope that a year hence when the nations have faced their duty and opportunity, when they have at least begun the reorganization of the world, we may be even more thankful because the people of the earth have been so united that neither militarism nor the foolish pride of republics can ever again sow the earth with death.

# THE PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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AN ADDRESS AT THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF ALPHA OF NEW JERSEY, PHI BETA KAPPA  
RUTGERS COLLEGE, FEBRUARY 22, 1919

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A CONSTITUTION for a League of Nations has at last been submitted to the world. The New York *Sun* in its issue of February 15 stated in a paragraph the problem which the proposed constitution undertakes to solve and the reaction of the average man to the solution proposed. It said:

“ . . . every right-minded man or woman in this republic would hail with joy and support with eagerness any workable plan for the prevention of the horrors of war not involving the surrender of that which to the American heart is dearer and more desirable even than world peace itself, namely, our unimpaired national sovereignty, our complete independence of supergovernment of any sort, our freedom of initiative in all matters affecting our national interests, our right to consider America first.”

Unimpaired national sovereignty, complete independence of any sort of supergovernment, freedom of initiative in all matters of national interest, the right to consider one's country first are no dearer to Americans than they are to Englishmen, to Frenchmen, to Italians and to the Japanese. Let it be stated at the outset that neither we nor the English nor the French nor the Italians nor the Japs can preserve these prerogatives in their entirety and at the same time avoid

the horrors of war. That is a very brief statement of the whole case. Conversely the price of peace is supposed to be the entire loss of these prerogatives. On that fiction—because it is a fiction—militarism has flourished, sovereignty has become a fetish. Peace demands no such price. The things that must be surrendered to achieve lasting peace, are false pride, fear, intolerance, selfishness.

Let me give a simple but concrete illustration. At the corner of 42d Street and Fifth Avenue in New York City there is at most hours of the day tremendous pressure of traffic. Traffic is controlled and expedited, accidents and confusion are avoided by a traffic policeman. He controls traffic with a wave of his hand or by blowing a whistle; he controls it because the men who are crowding to get past that corner know that behind the wave of the hand stands the power of the municipality, the City of New York, a corporation created by the people who use the streets, and controlled by them *sometimes*. No driver of a car surrenders his self-respect or his individual initiative by obeying that wave of the hand. In order to keep traffic moving the driver, through the policeman, simply recognizes the rights of others. Remove that control at almost any time of the day for a period of ten minutes and we all know what would happen. There would be confusion, collision, probable loss of life and an utter congestion and stoppage of traffic. The great thoroughfares of the world are in these days as crowded as is the intersection of these two great streets. The nations that increasingly use these highways are naturally as indifferent to the rights of others as the ordinary chauffeur is. Each is thinking first

of its own rights and needs and ambitions and sovereignty. International crossroads which are now substantially uncontrolled must be controlled for exactly the same reason that New York traffic must be controlled. Any plan which aims to avoid war but does not control these highways is certain to fail. By the highways of the world, I mean the contact of nation with nation, of people with people. These highways are crowded because the ends of the earth have fallen together. There are no foreign lands. War, wherever it begins hereafter, will almost certainly sweep over the whole earth. The days of isolation are over. Between states there are no dreamy sunlit spaces, no great dividing rivers, no towering mountain ranges, no impassable deserts, no vast mysterious oceans. Whether we will or no we are forced onto these highways; our duty and destiny place us there. We take with us when we fare forth our prejudices, our fears, our ignorance, our superciliousness, our national vanities. The other travelers who jostle us carry the same sort of luggage. Each has been taught to believe that the preservation of the prerogatives named by the *Sun* is the first duty of every nation. Only a hermit people could preserve these prerogatives now. The day of hermit states and hermit statesmanship has passed. Take that message to Washington! Proper control of these highways will no more invade the essential prerogatives of states than the policeman when he controls street traffic endangers or invades the natural rights of chauffeurs.

Because of the elemental fears voiced by the *Sun*, the United States Senate will probably reject or refuse to concur in this Constitution as now offered. It will



be rejected amongst other reasons because of the belief that it violates the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

A charter under which the self-governing nations of the world are to live in peace must necessarily involve modifications of the present fundamental laws of signatory states having written constitutions. There is already a sharp difference of opinion here as to whether the document worked out by President Wilson and his associates in Paris calls for modifications in our fundamental law. If it doesn't, then it will achieve nothing. If it does, it cannot be adopted on our behalf by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The Constitution of the United States cannot be changed in that way. To me it is clear that President Wilson and his associates sought to avoid the necessities of any change in the constitutions of signatory countries, and in doing this they have avoided the real issue. They have undertaken to place a policeman at the crossroads of the world; but without such constitutional changes in the signatory countries that the policeman can trace his authority back to the people, all those who use the world highways will quickly recognize that there is no sufficient power back of the wave of his hand, and after a little his signal will be entirely disregarded.

These reflections do not lead to any very optimistic conclusion. They imply that the plan submitted while probably insufficient is nevertheless so radical that our people through their representatives in the Senate will not accept even that. People sometimes will accept a very radical idea, if it clearly solves a perplexing problem; and again will reject a less radical idea on the plea that it is too radical, because it does not clearly give

something desirable in the place of the errors it proposes to correct. If the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia had limited themselves to the things which they were commissioned to do, if they had patched up the old Articles of Confederation and presented to the Thirteen States for ratification, not an obviously sufficient plan, but merely more weak compromises, it is altogether probable that their work would have been rejected because it was too radical, and the confusion that preceded that Congress would have gone on into disaster.

But with a courage so splendid that men have ever since wondered at it, they threw aside entirely the old instrument of government and presented a new one which did not modify the sovereignty of the people but did gravely modify the sovereignty of the several states. They offered a new government of which the people were nevertheless to be masters. They did not destroy either sovereignty or freedom of initiative; they transferred both to a larger world. They did not destroy the states; they created a greater state. For the limited opportunities of weak and quarreling states they offered the unlimited opportunities of a great nation. This was radical, very radical; but it appealed to the imagination of men; it brought out a reaction of a new sort. That new instrument of government was not free from compromise, in fact it was based on compromise, without which it probably could not have been adopted. But fundamentally it struck a new and a great note. There isn't a principle in this proposed charter that wasn't old when the Congress of 1787 met. Every process in it has been tested and long since found wanting.

The great thing in our Federal Constitution, which distinguishes it from all other charters, which struck the imagination of men and has been the prime cause of its success, is entirely absent from the proposed Constitution of the League of Nations. The Federal Constitution created a government which acts directly on the individual and only incidentally on the states, and is, therefore, the individual's government and not a supergovernment at all. The proposed Constitution of the League does not attempt to do this. The units of this League are to be sovereignties, acting as sovereignties, each preserving unimpaired its national prerogatives, its complete independence; and notwithstanding certain stipulations about delaying war, economic pressure, etc., each in the last analysis will preserve its freedom of initiative. Any body of men which controlled sovereignties as *such* would be a real supergovernment and that would be intolerable. The stipulations in this proposed charter which require certain seeming concessions and binding agreements between sovereign states are sufficiently radical to create alarm but not strong enough to bring assurance. This will undoubtedly cause it to be modified and perhaps finally rejected; whereas if the instrument were stronger, if it clearly and with justice between the signatories controlled the forces that now mean war the people of the self-governing nations might readily force its adoption. In other words if it is finally rejected the real reason for that action will be that the instrument is too weak.

The conclusion from all this is that the agony and suffering of this unprecedented war have taught our leaders and the leaders of other nations very little,

The elemental appeal of sovereignty is still paramount here and probably in all the nations. Woodrow Wilson is obviously not a George Washington, Lloyd George is clearly not an Alexander Hamilton, and Clemenceau is neither a James Madison nor a John Marshall. At this great crisis of affairs the world has no leaders comparable to those who led the Thirteen States in 1787. Then the leadership came from the top. It looks now as though the leadership that is to save the world and human liberty will ultimately come from the masses. Meantime the tragedy of war will be repeated and again repeated with ever-increasing horrors.

The outstanding fact of the hour is this:

In the second great crisis of representative and free government—the first having been reached in 1787, and successfully passed in 1789—the self-governing people of the world lack leaders. The great opportunity is passing. Where we expected bold and constructive leadership we have only methods that have already been tested and rejected. The League proposed will achieve little if any more than the Hague Tribunal achieved. Fundamentally it is the same idea; fundamentally it is our old Articles of Confederation and utterly fails to satisfy the demands of the hour.

The people of the world have waited patiently, not more for the details of what is to be done to the twin criminals, Germany and Turkey, than for the details of the New Plan that shall end war. The people have understood all along that whatever the punishment meted out to Germany, little in the long run would be gained unless the fundamental conditions which gave Germany her opportunity and incentive were changed. This charter changes nothing fundamental. We might

have anticipated that from such reports as previously came to us. The methods of the Paris Congress of 1919 seem not greatly different from the methods of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. There have been fewer state carriages, less gold lace, possibly a little more freedom of speech, but no real advance. Consider in how many ways these two Congresses are strikingly alike and at the same time what strange contradictions have been brought about through the whirligig of time: They deal now with the Kaiser and his works; their predecessors dealt with Napoleon and his works. Both approached their tasks bound by the medieval rules of sovereignty. The groupings of the nations are different. Now the great offender is a German; then he was a Frenchman. The decisive blow at Waterloo was struck by a German. The Blücher of this war was an American named Pershing, who also arrived just in time.

Because of his speech to the Congress on the fourth of December, 1917, it is only justice to President Wilson to assume that in his struggle for a charter he tried to get something adequate. In that address he demanded "a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments",—a Federation not a Confederation. In this Charter he does not offer us a Federation; whether or not he advocated that plan will probably be known only when the records of this Peace Congress are unlocked.

Can two solid bodies occupy the same space at the same time? Can five great and forty odd smaller absolute authorities exist on this little globe without war? The answer to the last question must be as unequivocal as the answer to the first. As well have

two or three laws of gravitation and then hope not to wreck the universe. If two solid bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time then the peace delegates in trying at once to preserve existing sovereignties and secure peace were merely fussing with worn-out machinery. As a matter of fact the peace delegates in this charter propose that two (perhaps five) solid bodies shall hereafter occupy the same space at the same time. Of course it can't be done. Naturally no sovereignty will put itself and its future either politically or economically in the power of another sovereignty; that would be to jump into space.

But while no people will yield their sovereignty to another nation, it does not follow that they will not yield something to a new authority in whose creation and control they have a just part. The *code duello* ended when men handed their duelling pistols not to each other but to a court which they themselves created, whose authority they themselves supported, a court behind which stood their own sheriff.

The people of New York did not surrender sovereignty to the people of Virginia, nor did the people of Virginia surrender sovereignty to the people of New York, when both joined in the creation of the Federal Government.

When President Wilson closed the reading to the Congress of the terms of the armistice, he dramatically said: "The war thus comes to an end." He should have added: "And here beginneth the industrial war—in preparation for the greater war that is to come."

The law of self-preservation, misapplied it is true, perverted, selfishly twisted, but dominant and inexorable, was the cause of the great military struggle



now closing. The same law blindly followed is confusing the men who are attempting to create better international relations and is even now inaugurating an economic war the end of which no man can foresee.

While we are planning the end of wars and expecting the birth of a new world, we read such matter as this in the editorial page of the *New York Sun* on February seventh:

"But the plain truth is it is no business of ours if Great Britain needs or wishes to shut foreign goods out of its home markets; it is the business of the people of the United Kingdom. The same holds as to France. It holds as to Italy. It holds as to any nation whether it fought alongside us in the war or fought against us."

And again the *Sun* says:

"Big Power or Little Power, military foe or military friend, Orient or Occident, the nation's first duty is to itself. The first need is to feed its own. The first law is to survive."

And further the *Sun* says:

"Nothing that can be spoken out of the mouth of a superlative visionary, nothing that can be written into the articles of the Peace Conference, nothing that can be injected into the vaporings of a League of Nations, will ever nullify the supreme law of self-preservation. Nothing can."

Was it then "no business of ours" or of Great Britain's that Germany was plainly building a colossal war machine? Was it no business of ours that the Kaiser was more medieval than Attila; no business of ours that German leaders everywhere justified and glorified war and drank always to "The Day"? We found out that it was our business after all. To settle that business we sent 2,000,000 men over seas, lost 100,000 of our youth, and contracted a debt that our grand-children may not see wholly liquidated. But

under the existing relations of sovereign states the German menace was held to be no business of ours. Because of Germany's unimpaired sovereignty, her complete independence of any control, her freedom of initiative in all matters affecting her national interests, her right to consider Germany first, (the *Sun's* sacred prerogatives although made in Germany) no other nation could interfere while she openly made these preparations. It became our business only when the tragedy moved on to the Fifth Act and filled the world with mourning.

In the light of this terrible experience shall we continue to say that nothing can be spoken or written into the articles of the Peace Conference or injected into the relations of states that will ever nullify the supreme law of self-preservation? That is what the cave man once believed, but he found after a while that life was better and safer when he had joined his family with other families, and he found a larger opportunity still by creating a clan, and still greater surety by creating a tribe, and an existence that was still fairer and more worth while by creating a nation.

The economic philosophy of the New York *Sun* is as savage as the political philosophy of the Kaiser. It starts with the same premiss and ends with the same conclusion: WAR; but it unquestionably reflects a large body of public opinion.

Shocked by the horrors of the recent struggle, patriots and statesmen have been trying to formulate plans through which there shall hereafter be no recurrence of those conditions. It would not be fair to say that their discussions have been futile even though they have not been bold, even though they have

brought forth a Plan which is more redolent of the Eighteenth Century than of the Twentieth. They have had a very large educational effect. There is no explanation of the welcome which President Wilson received from the masses of the people of Europe except that they believed he represented some plan by which the nations shall hereafter be so related to each other that the horrors which they have just endured can never be repeated.

The agony of the war itself and the peace discussions that have grown out of it have created a longing which President Wilson at times seemed to interpret as no other national leader did.

Leagues and peace societies have been active and numerous since the war began. Most of the promoters of these leagues or societies, if squarely faced with the charge that their plan was inadequate, that it did not modify the law of sovereignty, which is the great cause of war, that it did not change the law of the jungle, which is about all there is of international law, would admit the charge. "But" they answered "we must take what we can get; a post-bellum program which asks the great nations to qualify their sovereignty could never be adopted, and therefore we are fighting for something that we feel is attainable." The charter before us is clearly the product of that philosophy. The lessons of a thousand years of government seem to have made little impression. The Peace Commissioners have looked at facts and apparently have not understood them. The unprecedented action of the thirteen American States in 1789 seems to convey no object lesson to the world leaders in 1919.

It is undoubtedly a calamity that no group of strong

men came forward months ago with a clear declaration that a new power (not a super-government) must be created by Great Britain, the United States and France at least, containing within its authority and organization a court before which certain differences called non-justiciable, and rarely settled except on the field of battle, could be soundly disposed of. That would involve exactly such a transfer of sovereignty as New York made when it entered the Federal Union. If such an arrangement was made between Great Britain, France, the United States and the Dominions of Great Britain, each would have to make a like transfer. No outstanding Society or Peace organization has stood clearly for that idea.

The proposed charter would settle these problems by arbitration and councils of conciliation. But arbitration and conciliation are not sufficient. Differences between New York and Massachusetts are not arbitrated neither are they settled through boards of conciliation; they go in the first instance before the Supreme Court of the United States and its judgment is final.

When the Kaiser, his military and naval commanders and his bankers, decided on the 5th of July, 1914, to bring on a European war, they were perfectly consistent; they merely translated the philosophy of sovereignty and self-preservation into action. In reverting economically to the law of the jungle, as we and all nations are preparing to do, we and they are only accepting the logical consequences of our medieval international politics.

The immediate calamity of all this may not instantly be clear. It does not lie wholly in this too weak

instrument which will probably make little impression on the world; it comes closer home. We like to say that the hope of the world rests with the United States and Great Britain. And beyond question that statement is true. But a new menace arises. Through the demands of the law of self-preservation, a law which England in declaring an embargo has already invoked, the contest between the political ideals of Germany and the rest of the world which culminated on November 11 last is likely to be shifted and become an industrial and economic as well as a political contest, with no one knows what results, between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon world. The two great aggressive, creative, constructive and dominant nations of the world are hereafter to be the United States and the British Empire. In the economic struggle that is coming they will be face to face everywhere. They will have between them more points of contact, more causes of friction, more rivalries, both on sea and land, in manufacturing and in finance, than all the other nations of the world combined.

To say that good will, a common speech, a common literature, and a common inheritance of law and traditions, is a sufficient safeguard against that friction and rivalry is sheer folly. The League proposed changes nothing fundamental and will not meet these perils. We ought to know that without discussion. This, therefore, is the immediate calamity: the two great liberty-loving nations which should co-operate are about to enter on a program of strong, perhaps bitter competition. If we are not to ignore all that history teaches we know what that means sooner or later.

At no distant date we shall have passed the time (and discussion of this charter will help the time to pass), when the co-operation that leads to federation is possible. Through the rivalries of commerce and the demands of sovereignty, it is fairly certain that the relations between Great Britain and the United States will soon be such that the great opportunity created by the war will have been utterly frittered away.

People are apt to underestimate the power of a written instrumentality of government. Men say that after all the efficiency of government in a republic depends almost wholly on the character and the intelligence of the people. They point to some of the South American republics as evidence that the written instrument doesn't mean much and that a government isn't necessarily republican because it claims to be. Which proves that a good instrumentality may be badly used—that is all.

On the other hand men say that in such countries as Great Britain and the United States where the people are generally educated and understand the obligations of citizenship, everything would be all right anyway. And to confirm that they tell us that Great Britain is more democratic than our own country, although it has a King and a Court and an hereditary legislative body. It isn't true that Great Britain is more democratic than we are. With King and Court and primogeniture and a House of Lords, Great Britain is a republic only in part. The body of traditions and precedents which make up what is known as the English Constitution cannot be called an instrumentality of government similar to our written Constitution or to any written Constitution. It is the product of



hundreds of years of struggle. It was not struck from the brains of men at a dozen sittings as the proposed Constitution for a League of Nations was, and as any Constitution for anything like the purpose proposed must be.

The form of the Constitution of any League is therefore vital. Our own history proves this contention to the hilt. The Thirteen States claimed severally to be sovereign. They had no body of precedents under which they could unite. They had to write out an instrument, and the instrument they created was called "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union".

In the government created by that instrument the units were states, states which yielded little to the central government. The Continental Congress had no power to raise revenue by taxation and so really had no power at all. Government under this instrument was a failure and after 1783 became a farce. The United States as a power became a jest amongst the nations.

Then the Federal Constitution was drafted. After a notable struggle it was adopted. The Articles of Confederation were entirely abandoned. The transformation which followed is one of the most striking facts in the history of governments. The people were the same, the states were the same, the problem was the same. But how amazingly different the result.

From confusion and impotence the United States passed to a condition of order and power; from no public credit to sound public credit; from the contempt of the world to its respect.

The written instrument of government was all powerful in that transformation. It was a great in-

strument; it is still, notwithstanding the drift of recent years away from the representative form which was the secret of its success.

The problem now facing the free, self-governing states of the world is not new; it has been solved. We need make no great experiment as our fathers did.

Apply this acid test to the instrument proposed:

Will it, if adopted, transform the relations of the free states of the world as our Federal Constitution transformed the relations of the thirteen states, or anything like it? I think not.

We went into the war to slay the Blond Beast. We were swept in by our self-respect. We were hot with righteous wrath.

Now we are called on to furnish the most powerful navy in the world and a large standing army. Why? Is it because we helped to slay the Beast? That should have made such preparations unnecessary. Is it because we are still stirred by wrath? No; the crisis of wrath is passing. Why then?

Because we now face not the Beast but the conditions that gave the Beast its opportunity. Because we see that the real causes of war exist constantly even between nations whose people would like to be friends. Because under the rules of sovereignty we must now arm against our friends. A great navy means what? Little except fear of Great Britain. There is no one else to fear. A great navy means that we intend ultimately to dispute the control of the seas with Great Britain. Criminal folly as that is, the law of sovereignty, of self-preservation demands it. And it will continue to demand it with all the horrible possibilities involved until the Anglo-Saxon world is re-

united—not by surrender of one nation to another, but by the creation of a new power made up of all the English-speaking world.

The League of Nations proposed would probably lead us back and not forward, it might lead toward confusion rather than toward order. What it proposes is a Confederation and before we join another Confederation we must forget or repudiate about the brightest page in our history. What it proposes to create is a supergovernment and that we will not tolerate.

A post-bellum Federation, of the Anglo-Saxon world at least—and we could not ignore France—would take its inspiration from Independence Hall and not from Potsdam; it would react to the philosophy of the Federalist and not to the philosophy of Bernhardt; it would within that world correct the fundamental fault; it would create between the federated states a court in which issues that otherwise mean war could be adjudicated; it would instantly erect against the ancient enemy of France a fortress which that enemy would not dare to attack; it would lift from that devoted Republic the awful shadow under which she has lived for fifty years; it would move the world away from the shambles of sovereignty and hasten the coming of the day when “the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags are furled”.

## PEACE AT LAST

FROM THE AGENCY BULLETIN (N. Y. L.)  
JANUARY 4, 1919

**P**EACE has not yet been achieved, but the fighting as it was carried on from August 4, 1914, to November 11, 1918, is over. Peace is coming. Our reaction to this great fact gives only a faint impression of the rush of feeling that overwhelmed the people of the Allies when the slaughter ceased and the day of Hope began to dawn.

There are plenty of people who still believe that we entered this war from selfish motives, because and solely because we believed we were politically imperiled. Whether the world finally concludes that our motives were chiefly unselfish will be determined ultimately by what we do at the peace table and afterwards.

No single man at the great Peace Congress, now convening, makes an appeal to the plain people of the world at all approaching that made by President Wilson. Some of us are disposed to criticise what is called his "secrecy", his disposition to ignore the Congress, his apparent hesitancy in advancing a post-bellum plan. But we should remember that he is closer to the facts than we are and knows many things of which we are ignorant.

We supported the President through two years of neutrality and through nearly two years of war, without

partisanship and with growing wonder over his increasing grip on the conscience of the world.

As a people we instinctively dislike all the methods of war; not merely the sacrifice of life, the destruction of plans, the necessary taxes, the censorship, the politics that crept in; but we especially dislike the autocratic powers which our representatives in Congress voted to the Chief Executive and his associates.

We want all these things ended as soon as possible.

While the fighting is ended the war is not over. Victory can be frittered away at the peace table and few things can more effectively help to destroy the fruits of victory than carping, partisan, destructive criticism. The President is our Leader as well as our Commander, and we must play the game out under him. Therefore until you see him do some unpatriotic, un-American thing, BACK HIM UP and hold back your criticisms.

He is carrying about the greatest burden that ever fell upon the shoulders of mortal man. He is facing questions so complex that they seem to most of us insoluble; but he is facing them bravely.

The plain people of the world, by a psychology that baffles the wise, have come to regard the President as the one great Leader who can prevent future wars.

He has not concretely advanced his PLAN as yet. No other leader or group of leaders has a sufficient plan. Let us hope that even as this people was able at the critical time to deliver the decisive blow on the battle line, so our President will be able, when the old-style diplomacy has exhausted itself, when the secret treaties of Europe have been uncovered and the ambitions of politicians have been exposed, to brush aside ancient

fears and prejudices and lead this weary old world into a higher place.

That is our New Year's wish to him, to the Mothers and Fathers of all the dead and maimed, and to the millions who pray for deliverance from the savagery of war.



# LET THE TRUMPET SOUND

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MEMORIAL ADDRESS  
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT  
JUNE 22, 1919

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**I**N *Lear* Shakespeare makes one of his characters say:

“If you have victory, let the trumpet sound  
For him that brought it.”

To-day first of all we sound the trumpet, we strike the note of victory. Not in vain—unless it be by our neglect or sin—did any son of this University die in the great war. In the tragedy of their taking off, in the manner of it, in the spirit of it, we find no flaw. Against the bitterness of it we have the inspiring consolation of a clean victory. Under the power of the blows these boys and their fellows struck thrones crumbled, ancient privileges were swept away. The Blond Beast was slain. We rejoice while we weep: We are proud to have been and to be a part of an institution that whelps such cubs.

Into a crowded hour they put the whole of life. They greeted death no more certainly than we ultimately shall. But they greeted him in the assault, not in retreat. They saw no afternoon of days. From the fresh morning of life they leaped to the “undiscovered country” to which men go falteringly not when they will but when death wills.

## They went

"\* \* \* \* not, like the quarry-slave at night,  
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed  
By an unfaltering trust \* \* \* \*  
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

For him that brought victory therefore sound the trumpet: first for the dead, then for the living,—for the nine hundred odd who served in some capacity, and especially for the fourteen who were cited for bravery. Sound the Trumpet!

One of the gravest questions that students of democracy in this generation have from time to time asked has now been answered. The question was: How will our youth meet the supreme test of war?

We had not trained them for that sort of fighting. On the contrary, we had taught our boys to be merciful, to be loyal to women, gentle with children and to hate war. They loved liberty, individual liberty; they thought; they decided for themselves. As against men produced by generations of rigid discipline, as against the monstrous processes of modern warfare, how would our boys stand up?

The fighting from Seicheprey to the Argonne Forest answered that question.

No more unflinching, clear-headed, unselfish courage was ever seen on any battle-field in all the tides of time than was shown by these half-drilled boys.

This venerable institution in all that struggle lost about twenty men—mostly students. They were aviators, officers, doughboys, engineers, naval men and doctors. They died variously; some instantly in action; some suffered and died in camps; the fate of

one boy is wrapped in impenetrable mystery. Their spirit, the spirit of the American Army, is perhaps perfectly expressed in the daring conduct and heroic death of Lieutenant Clarence M. Collard of the Class of 1917. When the order came, over the top he went with his men; up a hill, through a valley, up another hill, until a machine gun bullet pierced his brain. Smitten to death he raised his hand, beckoned his men forward, and fell—forward. That was the spirit of the whole Army. Free men—undisciplined and untrained by the standards of militarism—were more than a match for the disciplined product of Germany.

While I make no apologies for war, I am not sure that the soul-quickenings which we and all the world got when death took Collard and Adams and Aldrich and Brown and Buxton and Chamberlain and Foster and Hunt and Palmer and Page, was not worth more than all they could have achieved had the visions of their splendid youth been allowed to become realities in the achievements of full maturity. And who shall measure the inspiration that comes to us from those others who faced death as unflinchingly and were not allowed their glorious hour? Baker and Billings and Forbush and Freeman and Furber and Ingalls and Murphy and Noble and Phelan and Parker. To them—all average American men and boys—Fate issued the supreme challenge. They never flinched. They answered unhesitatingly, and died smiling.

Consciously or unconsciously they all died for a great cause. That cause is greater than democracy, greater than country. About to die Edith Cavell saw a vision and said: "I now understand that patriotism is not enough."

Incompetent leadership, provincialism and selfishness promise to delay the triumph of the cause for which they died. The collapse of Germany has put into the hands of the Allied powers an opportunity to achieve in a generation what otherwise may be realized only after centuries of fighting. At present the indications are that the world will continue to travel over the broken, cruel, bloody road it has so long followed. There is to be no quick emergence into a new order under which law shall rule between nations, under which wars shall be made improbable if not impossible.

Nevertheless, that new order is what the people of the world now demand; achieved, it would be almost a political miracle but it would not be unprecedented.

Our fathers did exactly that. They wrought a like transformation in 1789, and the rays of the sun of that new day still warm us and make our path clear. Then an old order was abandoned and a new order adopted almost over-night. Then jealousies were suppressed; fear was quieted; the voice of prejudice was stilled. Then the cry that each State must preserve and defend its own liberties went up throughout the Colonies, as it does to-day amongst the Nations, but it was overwhelmed by the cry that the States must create a greater State, a finer liberty, a larger hope, and a controlling law.

The United States, the British Empire and France have faced a like situation and opportunity since the 11th day of November, 1918, and they have not met the issue. They have essentially adhered to the old order. Jealousies and prejudices and fears have been strong and bold. The cry has been "Great Britain First!" "Canada First!" "France First!" "America

First!" They have shouted with all the fervor of the cave man "No entangling alliances" at a time in the world's development when men fly across the Atlantic in about one-third the time that George Washington took in going from Philadelphia to New York. Entangling alliances indeed! When the whole world is entangled by steam and electricity, by land and wireless telegraphy, by land and wireless telephony, and by men who fly so fast that they outrun hurricanes. These entanglements have created relations between nations which the nations themselves stupidly declare they will never tolerate. Political leaders shout their undying determination to prevent the creation of conditions which already exist. "What do we in the United States care" they say "about the struggles in Armenia? What interest have we in the ambitions of Poland? Why should we seek to have a voice in the settlement of any European question? Let them look out for themselves. We can and will do the same for ourselves."

But a bitter experience has taught that we do care about the Armenian massacres; that we are interested in Poland's ambitions; that, if we are to save ourselves alive, we must have a voice in the settlement of many European questions.

On June 28, 1914, not one American citizen in a thousand knew whether Sarajevo was the name of a town or a religion; but a pistol shot there started a conflict which cost us in dead and wounded nearly 300,000 of our youth, and heaped up a net per capita debt—assuming that all loans to our Allies will be repaid—one and three-quarters times our per capita debt at the close of the Civil War. We did not want to

go to Europe, but we had to go. We do not want to mix in its troubles now, but we must. The hope that we may not have to send another army across the sea is a false hope unless the existing order is changed. Responsibility to the rest of the world as well as our own self-respect took us there in 1917. That responsibility is greater now than it has ever been before. It will increase. We cannot avoid it if we are to maintain our traditions and our place in the world. But unhappily some of our leaders seem disposed to run away. Instead of facing the problem, they start the old familiar cries: "No entangling alliances", "America First". Of course "America First", but how? Certainly not by playing the ostrich, by assuming that existing conditions do not exist. Alexander Hamilton would not have thus counseled us, nor Benjamin Franklin, nor James Madison, nor George Washington himself, who first cautioned the Nation against entangling alliances. These men would have grasped the whole issue, as they did the issues between the Thirteen States. They would have recognized the fact that between the United States, the British Empire, and France, relations now exist so close, so constant, and so vital that the solution of the problems which grow out of them cannot be entrusted to the chaos of so-called international law. If they are so entrusted, then there will be a constant and a deadly peril to the peace of the world. These problems cannot be solved by any covenant between sovereign states as such. Similar problems between the Thirteen States brought them repeatedly to the verge of civil war. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union created a League of Nations; the Confederation of 1781 was a covenant



between sovereign states. Under that instrument government became little more than a farce. Washington and Hamilton and Franklin and Madison and Marshall saw the futility of traveling farther on that road. They saw the chaos that existed and foresaw the political impotence that must follow if the Thirteen States continued on the theory that each was sovereign in the full significance of that word. They dared to face the political shouter typified by Patrick Henry who denounced the proposed Federal Constitution because its opening sentence read "We the People" and not "We the States". They faced the demagogue who shouted the word "Super-sovereignty" then as certain men and papers do now. Our Federal Government was the "Super-sovereignty" then proposed and then so fiercely assailed. It is so easy now to see what false prophets they were. It was not so easy then. It ought to have been easy. Why was it difficult? Partly because of the demagogue—an animal not peculiar to this particular period—partly because certain political leaders in the states knew they would lose prestige and power if the Federal Constitution was adopted, and partly because many of the people of each state were persuaded that liberty could be preserved only if their separate sovereignty was preserved. They were afraid, where their lives and property were involved, to make common cause with other people so far away. At that time Georgia was farther from Maine than Thibet now is from New York.

With all the noble story of this country's development under the Federal Constitution before us we find our statesmen largely Patrick Henrys and George Clintons. Nowhere do we hear the voice of Alexander

Hamilton. Ex-President Taft takes the broadest view of any, but even he would be unwilling to create a new charter under which the United States and the British Empire and France should so unite, that wars between them would become as impossible as wars now are between the states of this Union.

There is a rude awakening coming to all those who think we should retire from Europe as quickly as possible and leave the European nations to work out their own salvation. Our people generally and our so-called statesmen especially seem to have no conception of the economic situation abroad. Only here and there a keen observer has understood that Europe rests on the lips of a volcano which may work more devastation than the war itself. Europe in other words can easily (and may) revert to a condition of social and economic chaos that will ultimately involve all the world.

This country and this country alone can bring Europe salvation. That we must do. We must do it not as a work of altruism but to save ourselves.

There is a widespread demand in England that we forgive the over \$4,300,000,000 loaned her during the war. The London *Times* vigorously denies that any such desire exists, but the evidence is conclusive. France thinks we ought to do the same thing in her case. Italy is of the same mind. We may not wonder so much at France whose wounds are so desperate, or at Italy with her unfortunate industrial condition, but that proud Albion should even discuss such a situation is a disturbing even an alarming circumstance. To save ourselves we must help the world industrially. We can no more escape that than we could escape war when Germany ordered us off the seven seas.

We must help Europe to help herself; we must help her people to go to work. Her people are not working now and the alarming fact is that their civil morale is so shattered that they apparently do not want to work. A million people in Great Britain mostly able to work are not only idle but are receiving a weekly dole from the Treasury. In Belgium eight hundred thousand are in the same condition. In a population of less than 8,000,000 this represents about the whole industrial section. No amount of money advanced, no amount of debts forgiven can save Europe. She must go to work, and we must help her to go to work.

It is sheer folly to think that we can stand aloof in our splendid isolation and let Europe revert to chaos.

On what tenable ground can we abandon Europe now with our work half done. From the beginning the problem involved more than crushing the Hun.

Up to the present hour our work outranks that of the good Samaritan. We helped to drive the thieves off. The problem now is: Shall we leave the victim to bleed to death? The Priest and the Levite seeing the victim of the thieves passed by on the other side, but the good Samaritan went to him, bound up his wounds pouring in wine and oil, set him upon his own beast, took him to an inn and promised to pay the innkeeper's bills. A certain lawyer you will recall had sneeringly asked Jesus "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus recited this parable by way of answer, and then in turn asked the lawyer "Which of the three, the Priest, the Levite or the good Samaritan was neighbor to him that fell amongst thieves?" Even the lawyer needed no prompting. He said: "He that showed mercy on him".

Whether or not the Republican reactionaries in the United States Senate delay peace because they object to the so-called League of Nations Covenant, contained in the treaty, we must at once enter an economic and industrial league of nations or Europe perishes. That League will be made by commercial necessity, a power which does not act by or with the advice and consent of the United States Senate: a body, by the way, composed largely of lawyers amongst whom the parable of the Good Samaritan, originally delivered to a lawyer, seems to be unknown.

John Fiske points out that the impulse which led to the Annapolis Convention and to the immortal Congress in Independence Hall which wrote our great Charter, was primarily commercial. Here too the movement which may ultimately lead to a union of democratic peoples promises to take effective origin in commerce. But a political as well as a commercial union of peoples must come if the relations of nations are to be stabilized and civilized.

That Union of Peoples, symbolized by our Federal Constitution, is coming. Yes; it is coming or more and worse wars are coming and chaos is coming. I believe that sort of union is as certain to come ultimately as the laws of gravitation are certain to be constant in their operation. It will not include all the world for many centuries; only a part of the world is ready for it. But while its organization could not soon include all peoples, it could soundly include so large a portion of humanity that its physical and moral power would mightily mould all nations.

As we hesitated and dilly-dallied and tried not to see our duty prior to April 6, 1917, so some of our leaders

now hesitate and shilly-shally over the League of Nations proposed—and a poor thing it is at best—and so they will hesitate and shilly-shally over our part in the economic and reconstruction problems which face Europe. Those problems involve us just as certainly as the sinking of the *Lusitania* meant that we must fight.

Food production in Europe and in Russia has largely ceased. Europe is hungry. It will probably become hungrier. Before they starve men become savages. The danger now is that the very foundations of European society may crumble; that even Great Britain may not escape. He is a fool who thinks all that can happen and leave us safe—safe and smug in what he is pleased to call our splendid isolation. As France has been the political frontier of civilization for a hundred years and its fighting front for five years, even so the United States and Great Britain now become the industrial and social frontiers of civilization. Our splendid isolation will protect us if we fail to act just about as much as German Faith protected Belgium. The assault will come however, from real necessity, and not from a lying pretense. If we do not direct those conditions, those conditions will direct us. There is no escape,—just as there is no escape from other wars so long as the relations of nations are controlled by the rules of pure savagery as they are to-day.

This therefore is the cause, greater than democracy, greater than country, for which these sons of the University died:

They died that Edith Cavell's vision might become reality; that men should come to understand why Patriotism is not enough.

They died that human servitude which the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs under the guise of efficiency sought to fasten on the world might be forever ended.

They died that the brutal law of sovereignty, which now divides men into hostile camps and directly or indirectly breeds war, might be softened.

They died that international savagery might also die.

They died that international justice might be born.

They died to create the unprecedented opportunity which faces us to-day.

Therefore we pay our poor tribute to these heroes: sons of Vermont, most of them; beloved children of the University, all of them. We enthrone them in our history and traditions in these words of the Immortal Bard:

“When wasteful war shall statues overturn,  
And broils root out the work of masonry,  
Nor Marsis’ sword nor war’s quick fire shall burn  
The living record of your memory.  
’Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity  
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room  
Even in the eyes of all posterity.”



## OTHER ADDRESSES




## SHAKESPEARIANA

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A PAPER READ AT THE  
THIRD DINNER OF THE HOBBY CLUB, N. Y., APRIL 18, 1912

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O the student of history the Roman Forum and the Colosseum are centres of overpowering interest. The appeal of the Forum, when under direct observation, becomes almost painful in its intensity. The Colosseum holds one with a grip which cannot be shaken off. This appeal springs not from what these pathetic ruins are, but from what they suggest. Like a setting sun they flash through the gathering night of time, revealing earlier heights of human achievement and vanishing evidences of human power. The three remaining pillars of the Temple of Castor and Pollux are like a long streamer of light from the Western sky. Defying the ages, in the midst of a pitiful ruin they inflame the imagination. They awaken longings for a fuller knowledge of an age whose greatness they reflect, a fuller knowledge of a people who created such surpassing beauty and left evidences of such colossal power. Of what the Forum was in the time of Julius Caesar, we know something, but of what it meant we know little. The antiquarian and the archaeologist theorize, generalize, and frequently dogmatize before they reconstruct. They read forward from scattered fragments, from broken columns and foundation stones

to the pages of written history; but even if they could with assurance place before us the Roman Forum as it was and the Colosseum as it was, they could not recreate the life that surged over the pavements of the Forum, and crowded the seats of the Colosseum with a hundred thousand spectators when some great combat was on "between savage beasts or still more savage men". Something vital would be lacking if every arch were rebuilt, every temple and palace restored, every statue replaced, every marble and brick by some magic renewed. There was a period—indeed there were long periods—when all was in order. There was a meridian of glory to which the present ruins point, and, putting aside the quest for evidences of what part humanity itself played from day to day while these splendors were at their full, we long for an adequate picture of these structures as they stood before the Goths desecrated and despoiled them, before the Christians shattered their glorious statuary and stole their gold, their ivories and their marbles.

The so-called works of Shakespeare are a ruin more complete, more pathetic, more powerful in their appeal than the ruins of the Roman Forum, more beyond the power of restoration than the Colosseum. The Folio of 1623, which is measurably the beginning and the end of all Shakespeariana, does not contain the works of Shakespeare. The works of Shakespeare, properly speaking, do not exist, and, complete, never existed. The First Folio is merely a congeries of masterpieces, which were created during a period of some twenty odd years, and, each in turn, marred as it was completed.

What Shakespeare built out of the limitless wealth of his genius no one fully knows. With the exception

of his two long poems and the sonnets, no part even of his creations at any time stood rounded and complete as the Forum did, as the Colosseum did. He built a literary pile as noble as the Colosseum, as wonderful in its beauty as the Forum, but no eye save his ever saw it, and he never saw it as a completed whole. If he had, he would not have seen it understandingly, because he had no conception himself of what he had done.

The Folio of 1623 is the Colosseum, the Forum, of Shakespeare's empire. It is at best a restoration, but a restoration which aimed at no ideal, which followed no model. Its editors could follow no model, because they had none. They might have been diligent, careful and truthful, but they failed in all three respects. Like the broken columns and the fallen arches of Rome, these shattered masterpieces inflame the imagination. They tell of exquisite beauty and marvelous harmony, of overwhelming power; but in their completeness these qualities are marred and while not as utterly ruined as are The Temple of Janus and the Golden House of Nero, they are more beyond the reach of reproduction.

Shakespeare was an actor. Acting was his business. He wrote not for the sake of writing, not because he supposed himself a great literary genius, or because he thought he could write better than other men; but in order that the company to which he belonged might have the wherewith to command patronage, and in that way make profitable the theatres in which he was part owner. We know that he accumulated a competence out of his earnings as an actor and out of his interest in certain theatres, but we do not certainly know that he ever received a farthing for his immortal

Tragedies, or a shilling for his matchless Comedies and Histories.

Up to about the time when Shakespeare ceased writing, few people read plays. Plays were written to be acted, not to be read. There was no public demand for them in that form. When Shakespeare wrote, he wrote for actors not for readers; he wrote for a practical purpose, not for immortality. Moreover when he wrote, his was not the last word. His product belonged to the theatre. It was taken by the manager and by the actors and rebuilt to meet the demands of the public and the limitations of the people who were to speak the lines: As Carlyle says: "Alas! Shakespeare had to write for the Globe Playhouse; his great soul had to crush itself, as it could, into that and no other mould." What Shakespeare wrote, therefore, passed quickly out of the form he gave it into the prompt books of the theatres. How much what he wrote was changed, how much it was marred, is, of course, beyond the reach of knowledge. That it was materially altered is certain. These prompt books were themselves in manuscript, and as such had, in 1623, never been printed. They were sometimes "pirated", and the Shakespearian plays which had appeared in quarto form prior to 1623 were practically all set up from copy which was obtained surreptitiously. The variation in the texts of the early quartos of *Hamlet*, and their variation again from the text of *Hamlet* in the First Folio, show that the text of the quartos was derived from different sources. How much of *Hamlet* in the quartos is Shakespeare, and how much is the product of someone else, can, of course, never be ascertained. As there is abundant internal



evidence to show that much of the First Folio was based on the quartos then in existence, and as all of these had been pirated from the prompt books of the theatres or otherwise, there is no assurance that the *Hamlet* printed in the Folio itself is as Shakespeare wrote it, indeed every presumption is to the contrary.

Soon after Shakespeare died, a demand sprang up for plays to be read as well as acted, in other words, for plays in printed form. It was to meet this demand that Heminge and Condell, with their associates, decided to assemble under one cover the plays which bore Shakespeare's name. The enterprise was entirely commercial in its character. That their work would become the most stupendous fact in the history of English literature never entered their minds; that these mangled children of Shakespeare's brain would become—in spite of mutilation and in spite of their own stupid and slatternly work as editors—the wonder of all time, was as completely beyond their ken as it was probably beyond the dreams of Shakespeare himself.

Where did they get the "copy" from which the Folio was set up? There is abundant evidence to show that when they undertook the work they did not know whence the copy was to come. There was no clear line of demarcation between what was wholly Shakespeare's and what was not. Several quartos existed with his name on the title page in which there was no line that Shakespeare penned. Some works which were clearly his were thirty years old, and some had passed out of the files of the theatres into private hands. The claim which the editors set up in their address "To the Great Variety of Readers", that they had received the

plays from Shakespeare himself with scarcely a blot in the manuscript is, therefore, clearly a fabrication. They made that plea not because they were anxious over the textual accuracy of the Folio, but because they thought it would help to sell the book. Shakespeare's reputation was well established. There was a demand for what he had created. It was necessary to reassure probable purchasers that the Folio contained what Shakespeare had actually written. The editors' real anxiety, however, was set forth in the exhortation "But, Whatever you Do, Buy." The folio of 1623 was published to sell, not to serve literature, not to perpetuate Shakespeare's fame. The book is so crammed with evidences of haste and incompetence, and worse, that it is impossible to credit its editors with any literary ideals or with any serious literary purpose. Within our meaning of the word, the book had no editor; it apparently had no proof-reader. Volumes have been written on these facts, and other volumes will be written hereafter. Both Heminge and Condell spelled their own names differently within the first half dozen pages of the volume.

I shall venture to point out only one of the many internal evidences of their haste and carelessness, and of the fact that the editors got copy wherever they could, and probably none of it was in Shakespeare's handwriting. In this I shall follow the analysis made by Mr. Sidney Lee. The Folio is divided into three parts: the Comedies, the Histories, and the Tragedies. A catalogue precedes the text. In the catalogue of the Tragedies, the first play named is *Coriolanus*, which is stated to cover folios one to thirty inclusive. When we turn to the text of the Tragedies,

we find that the first one printed is not *Coriolanus*, as the catalogue states, but *Troilus and Cressida*. Turning back again to the catalogue of the Tragedies, we find that *Troilus and Cressida* is omitted altogether. How could this happen? Inspection of the text of this play shows that the first page is unnumbered, while the second page is numbered 79, the third 80, and the succeeding pages of the entire text are without any pagination whatever. *Coriolanus*, which follows *Troilus*, begins as the catalogue indicates with folio one and carries pagination in regular order. *Titus Andronicus* succeeds, then *Romeo and Juliet*, and then *Timon of Athens*, which carries the text to page 98. Following this is a list of the actors who appeared in *Timon*. This list scantily occupies an entire page, which is unnumbered, and is followed by a blank page. Then follows *Julius Caesar*, but the first page is numbered 109, leaving a hiatus of nine pages. What happened was this: The original plan was to have the Tragedies in this order: 1st—*Coriolanus*; 2d—*Titus Andronicus*; 3d—*Romeo and Juliet*; 4th—*Troilus*; but for some reason after the first three tragedies had been set up and three pages of *Troilus* were in type, the work on *Troilus* was stopped. It stopped at page 80 of the Tragedies. There is a strong probability that the source from which the text of *Troilus* was to be derived failed the editors. Mr. Lee thinks these three pages were set aside, but the curious blunder which followed rather indicates that they were left standing following the last page of *Romeo and Juliet*. A guess was then made as to which quire would be reached by the last page of *Troilus* when it was all in type, and *Julius Caesar*, which was to follow, was begun at page 109.

When they had printed and began to assemble the printed sheets of the text, they discovered the hiatus between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Caesar*. Then the trouble over the copy of *Troilus* not having been cleared up, *Timon of Athens*—a short play—was set up and put in the blank space; but it was too short, and so it was patched out with a list of actors and a blank page. But it still fell short by nine pages. Then the difficulty over the text of *Troilus* apparently having been cleared up, it was all put in type. Where to put it was the next problem. There was no place in the regular pagination of the Tragedies to insert it. Apparently the others had all been printed. *Troilus* is one of the three plays which are certainly Shakespeare's which reflect least credit on him. If we compare it with a play like *Macbeth* or *Julius Caesar* and take into account what always happened when Shakespeare turned his handiwork over to the manager, we might easily conclude that there is very little of Shakespeare in it. How little the editors of the Folio appreciated this is shown by the fact that they finally decided to print it at the head of all the Tragedies. Then occurred the curious confusion and the blunder to which I have referred. When the first three pages of *Troilus* were set up following *Romeo and Juliet*, the quire so fell that the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* would occupy the back of the first leaf of *Troilus*. It is certain that some of the edition was printed in that order, which indicates that Mr. Lee is wrong in assuming that the first three pages of *Troilus*, after they were set in type, were lifted out and set aside. When the printed leaves were assembled under the plan which put *Troilus* first of the Tragedies the first page

of the first leaf of *Troilus* was the last page of *Romeo and Juliet*. The difficulty was apparently not immediately discovered. It is probable that the absence from its proper place of the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* was discovered when the printed sheets were assembled, and this page must have been re-set when *Timon* was put in type; but the incongruity of having the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* the first page that the reader would find in turning to the Tragedies, was not discovered until a few copies at least of the Folio had been completed and sold. Then the first leaf at east of *Troilus* must have been re-set and re-printed. To fill the place occupied by the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* a prologue which was probably composed for the occasion was printed as the first page of the first leaf of *Troilus*. But the original pagination, which placed the numbers 79 on the second page and 80 on the third page of *Troilus* was never corrected, and stands in all copies to this day. A copy of the Folio in which the last page of *Romeo* appears on the front of the first leaf of *Troilus*—where the prologue appears in nearly all copies—is owned by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

There are abundant evidences that the editors were in trouble not only over the circumstance which I have described, as soon as the first copies were put out, but over many other blunders of an almost equally serious nature. Loud complaints were undoubtedly made over errors which the most casual reader could easily discover. There must have been some interesting scenes in the printing office of Blount and Jaggard before the last copy was delivered. Many sections of the book must have been re-set and re-printed. This



is evident from the fact that the texts of the extant Folios vary in many particulars. For example, there are important variations between the First Folio which lies before you and the text of the Folio which was used by Mr. Sidney Lee in his *fac simile* edition issued to accompany his census of the existing copies of the First Folio.

I have sometimes wondered if it would not be worth while—to someone who could afford it—to dissect a Folio, taking it apart section by section and leaf by leaf, in order to learn just how the quires were broken into by changes subsequent to the first typographical plan and by changes made after the printing had first been completed.

The “copy” which the editors used was taken from the quartos, the existing prompt books of the theatres and from private hands. Shakespeare’s MSS., like the MSS. of all writers of plays in his age, had long since entirely disappeared. No one considered them important. The available copy had been marred by the managers of the theatres and maimed by the actors. The editors then proceeded to mutilate it further, but they could not destroy the vital thing. What would be lacking if the Forum and the Colosseum were restored lives in the text of the Folio of 1623. *Hamlet* and *Lear*, *Falstaff* and *Malvolio*, *Desdemona* and *Rosalind*, rise superior to mutilated texts and blundering editors. They have not lost, they will never lose the vitality which Shakespeare gave them when they sprang into being at his command. If they should ultimately fall into disfavor on the stage—as some of Shakespeare’s creations had as early as 1623—they will nevertheless live, because his vogue upon the stage



has come to be the smallest part of his immortality. The truest picture of ancient Rome to be had to-day is not born of a study of the ruins that lie between the Palatine and the Quirinal Hills; it springs into being when the Cassius, the Antony, the Brutus and the Caesar of Shakespeare speak to us. The material form of the Forum might be restored; its life could not be. The exact form of the Shakespeare text can never be restored, but the life that spoke through its lines lives and is still eloquent.

Grant White says of the errors in the First Folio: "Besides minor errors, the correction of which is obvious, words are in some cases so transformed as to be past recognition, even with the aid of the context; lines are transposed; sentences are sometimes broken by a full point followed by a capital letter, and at other times have their members displaced and mingled in incomprehensible confusion; verse is printed as prose, and prose as verse; speeches belonging to one character are given to another; and, in brief, all possible varieties of typographical derangement may be found in this volume, in the careful printing of which the after world had so deep an interest."

The First Folio contains—in addition to the plays—the advertisement of the publishers, already referred to; a print of Shakespeare engraved by Martin Droeshout; dedicatory verses by Ben Jonson, Leonard Digges, Hugh Holland, and an unknown author who signs himself "I. M."; also a list of twenty-six persons, with Shakespeare at the head, who are described as "the principal actors in all these plays." The poetical tributes, except Ben Jonson's, are each followed by a blank

page; indicating that they were after-thoughts prepared after the book had been assembled.

The Second Folio was printed in 1632, and is almost an exact reproduction of the First, but few errors being corrected and others introduced. It contains three additional poetical tributes to Shakespeare, one by Milton and two by unknown writers. These tributes show the increased supremacy which Shakespeare's plays had attained since the First Folio was issued.

In 1664, after the Puritan fury against plays and play-goers had spent itself, a Third Folio edition was issued, containing, in addition to the contents of the other two, *Pericles* and six spurious plays which had been published under Shakespeare's name or initials during his lifetime. A reprint of this appeared as the Fourth Folio in 1685.

Of the First Folio there is a record of one hundred and fifty-eight\* copies—one of which was lost on the steamship "Arctic", in 1854, and one was burned in the Chicago fire, in 1872. Their unique relation to the Elizabethan age and to all English literature, as well as the small number of copies in existence, make them the especial quest of all collectors. As Bernard Quaritch said to me seventeen years ago: "A library which contains the four Shakespeare Folios at once takes imperial rank." Existing copies are classed as I, Perfect, of which there are fifty-four, twenty-nine of them being owned in the United States; II, Imperfect, but in fairly good condition, sixty-eight; III, Defective, sections and leaves missing, or supplied from later folios—eighteen; IV, worse than defective—eighteen. The two lost copies were of the latter class.

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\*Mr. Sidney Lee's census.

The first attempt at editing Shakespeare's plays was not made until nearly a century after his death. In 1709 Nicholas Rowe published all the authentic plays (and six others) in a seven volume edition, in which many of the typographical errors of the folios were corrected, all the plays were for the first time divided into Acts and Scenes, full stage directions inserted, and lists of *Dramatis Personae* given. From this time on editions multiplied. The editors may be divided into two—perhaps three—classes. First, those who had a profound reverence for Shakespeare, and who made a sufficient study of his plays to bring themselves into sympathy with him; second those who diligently gathered up the best emendations and elucidations of the first class and published variorum editions; third, those who sought to make over the text to suit their own conceptions and conceits of what Shakespeare should have said. The labors of the first two classes of editors have been invaluable, those of the third for the most part useless and sometimes detrimental. In the first class we may place Rowe, Theobald, Malone, Knight, Collier, and Richard Grant White. The second class includes Reed, who published a variorum edition based chiefly upon the labors of Johnson and Steevens; James Boswell, Jr., who completed a variorum for Malone; Singer, whose Chiswick edition is an abridged variorum; the Furnesses—father and son—whose variorum edition begun in 1871 is now well advanced; and Morgan, whose Bankside edition includes the players' text and the revised text in parallel columns. The third class is a large one, but names are superfluous.

A second, and much narrower field for the Shakespearian hobbyist, is Shakespearian portraits. The only representations of Shakespeare known to have had the approval of his contemporaries are the Droeshout print, published in the First Folio, only seven years after Shakespeare's death, and the life size bust in Stratford church which is referred to in the same publication in the memorial verses of Leonard Diggs. Seven other portraits engraved by Martin Droeshout have come down to us. The Droeshout print of Shakespeare is indirectly but strongly commended by Ben Jonson in lines printed with it, when he says of the engraver—

“O, could he but have drawn his wit  
As well in brass, as he has hit  
His face; the Print would then surpass  
All that was ever writ in brass.”

The Stratford bust is supposed to be the work of a Flemish artist, Geratt Johnson, a resident of London, but of no special reputation. It has the individuality of a portrait, and may have been made from a mask, but between the bust and the so-called “Kesselstadt Death Mask”, the differences are more significant than the resemblances.

Both the print and the bust represent a man beyond the prime of life—a man about as old as Shakespeare was at the time of his death. Of the two the bust presents the more noble, and more poetic face. Of the print there are two proofs differing somewhat from the finished portrait, and evidently taken while the plate was in preparation. These proofs indicate that the engraver worked from a drawing of the head only, rather than from a portrait in oil, and this has an

important bearing upon certain alleged portraits of Shakespeare.

The Droeshout print and the Stratford bust stand in somewhat the same relation to other representations of Shakespeare as the First Folio does to other texts of Shakespeare's plays. Neither is probably a good likeness, but they were not "pirated" or faked and must for all time give us the nearest approach to Shakespeare's lineaments, as the First Folio will for all time give the world the nearest approach to the real product of his genius.

In Washington, D. C., if you know where to look, you can find the derringer with which Wilkes Booth killed Abraham Lincoln. The authorities know it is the veritable pistol used by Booth, because it has never been out of responsible hands since Booth leaped to the stage crying "*Sic semper tyrannis.*" Once at least, another derringer almost exactly like the real one, with abundant certificates of genuineness attached, has been offered, at a price, to the government.

Similar happenings, as we all know, are not uncommon where the subject is one of profound interest. The temptation to imitate, to plagiarize Shakespeare has been tremendous. The temptation to produce something that Shakespeare had touched, something that penetrated in some way the mystery that surrounds him, and to a degree all writers of his period, has been almost irresistible.

I shall refer to only one instance, and I select this because it illustrates how even the educated, the studious and the reputable have fallen victims.

In 1852 Mr. John Payne Collier, then favorably known as a student of Elizabethan literature and

author of an edition of Shakespeare's works, published nine years before, announced that there had fallen into his hands a copy of the second folio, the margins of which contained manuscript corrections of the text, of great interest and value. The next year Mr. Collier published a volume entitled "Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio of 1632." in which he included and upheld various new readings, and expressed the conviction that "far the greater body" of them were "the restored language of Shakespeare". He also published a new edition of the plays with the new readings, and what was asserted to be "A List of Every Manuscript Note and Emendation in Mr. Collier's Copy of Shakespeare's Works, Folio, 1632". Four years later Mr. Collier announced that he was "convinced that the great majority of the corrections were made, not from better manuscripts, still less from unknown printed copies of the plays, but from the recitations of old actors while the play was proceeding", and that they did "not represent the authentic language of Shakespeare".

Mr. Collier's alleged discoveries had meantime become the subject of sharp criticism. He had never submitted his Folio to the examination of Shakespearian scholars, but gave it to the father of the Duke of Devonshire, and in 1859 the latter presented it to the British Museum. When the Museum authorities examined the volume in order to make an accurate description of it, they found its condition so at variance with Mr. Collier's printed statements that an investigation was instituted which lasted two years, both sides being heard. It was found—that the volume



contained nearly three times as many marginal readings, etc., as were enumerated in Mr. Collier's alleged "complete list"; that these included erasures and restorations, changes in punctuation, spelling and stage directions, and were written in a modern cursive hand; that many of the corrections had been tampered with, touched up or painted over, a modern character being dexterously altered by a pen into a more antique form; that what appeared to be corrections in antique writing in ink had been made with paint which resembled ink faded by time; that of some penciled memorandums there were no corresponding changes in ink, one of which was in a system of shorthand that did not come into use until 1774; that similar modern pencil writing, underlying antique-seeming words in ink, appeared in the Bridgewater Folio, and had first been brought to notice by Mr. Collier; that some of the pencil memorandums in Mr. Collier's folio seemed to be unmistakably in his own handwriting; that several manuscripts purporting to be contemporary with Shakespeare, which Mr. Collier had professed to discover, and which contained similar pen and ink changes had been pronounced spurious by the highest authorities.

Mr. Richard Grant White, who early pointed out the weakness of Mr. Collier's claims, expresses the opinion that the penciled readings were entered upon the folio in the seventeenth century, after the Restoration; that the erasures were first made with the purpose of preparing the plays for the stage; that this purpose was abandoned, the erased portions restored and the spelling, punctuation and stage directions changed with the purpose of publishing a revised edition. As to what happened to the Folio after it

came into Mr. Collier's hands, Mr. White declines to advance an opinion, but his opinion is indicated by the expression of a "hope that facts yet undiscovered, or explanations not yet made, may preserve this page of letters from the dark stain of imposture".

The Ireland forgeries I will not take time to discuss.

Of real Shakespeariana there is little outside the folios and quartos. I own but one item which was printed before the Folio of 1623. It is known as "The Whole Contention" and while attributed to Shakespeare was certainly not written by him. It was, however, undoubtedly the basis of his II and III Parts of King Henry VI, and is rated as Shakespeariana.

Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* is rated as Shakespeariana because there are plates in it by Martin Droeshout, and a reference to Shakespeare in the text. Fuller's *Worthies of England* and Dugdale's *Warwickshire* are both so rated because of references to Shakespeare.

The search for facts pertaining to Shakespeare's life did not begin until after his death and the death of all his contemporaries. The only authentic data is therefore that embodied in documents of the time, and upon these, as they have been brought to light from time to time, scholars have constructed an outline life of Shakespeare. Shakespearian scholars had long despaired of any increase in the store of facts concerning him, when an American, Professor Charles William Wallace, of the University of Nebraska, entered the field. Shakespeare's frequent use of legal terms has given rise to the supposition that he may have studied law during the period 1585-1592 when we practically

lose sight of him. Whether Professor Wallace's investigations are made with this in mind, or not, the two finds which he has reported are both of them records of lawsuits. The first—of which an account was published in the London *Times* in October, 1909—was a lawsuit brought by the daughter of John Heminge, one of the publishers of the First Folio, against her father, on a charge of misappropriation of funds held in trust for her. These funds were certain shares of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres where her husband was an actor. The Shakespeare interest in the suit lies in the fact that it deals with the profits of these theatres where Shakespeare's plays were presented, and in which he had an interest as playwright, actor and owner of shares. The profits on his shares, as shown in the Osteler-Heminge suit, amounted to about £600 a year, and accounts for the investments which he was able to make in Stratford, the restoration of the fortunes of his father and the grant to his father of a coat of arms.

In March, 1910, Professor Wallace published in Harper's Magazine an account of the discovery of still more remarkable documents. Apparently still following up legal clues, he discovered in the Public Record Office of England the records of a lawsuit tried in 1612 in which Shakespeare was a witness. Not only was he a witness but the records show that, for at least six years and probably much longer, he had lodgings in the house of the defendant. The lawsuit was a sordid enough affair—between one Bellott and his father-in-law Mountjoy—concerning the dower promised the former prior to his marriage. But Shakespeare's part in it gives this family quarrel that touch of nature

to which the universal human heart responds. For he it was who brought about the marriage.

Mountjoy was a Frenchman living in London, a maker of wigs and head-dresses, to whom was apprenticed, in 1598, the French youth Bellott. When his time expired, in 1604, the old folks found that their daughter Mary, who had worked at his side learning the trade, had become fond of him. He had served them faithfully, and they were not only not averse to the match but greatly desired it. But the young man was slow, and the mother asked Shakespeare to give him to understand that if he wished to marry the daughter the marriage would be agreeable to her parents, and that they would give her a handsome dower. Shakespeare accomplished his mission and the couple were married, as the parish records show, on November 19, 1604. At first they lived with the Mountjoys, but within less than a year they took lodgings with George Wilkins, an inn-keeper and dramatist, who shortly afterwards collaborated with Shakespeare in the production of two plays. Upon the death of Mrs. Mountjoy in October, 1606, the Bellots returned to the parental roof; but at the end of a year and a half there was a disagreement over business matters and the lawsuit followed.

The records of the case consist of twenty-six documents in which Shakespeare's name is mentioned twenty-four times, and his testimony is signed by his own hand. He deposes that he is of Stratford-on-Avon, county of Warwick, of the age of 48 years or thereabouts; that he has known the parties to the suit for about ten years; that he knew Bellott during the time of his service with Mountjoy, and that to his knowledge

Bellott behaved himself well and honestly; and he thinks he was a very good and industrious servant; that it appeared Mountjoy did, all the time of Bellott's service, show great good will and affection toward him; that he had heard Mountjoy and his wife at divers and sundry times say and report that Bellott was a very honest fellow; that Mountjoy did make a motion unto Bellott of a marriage with his daughter Mary; that Mountjoy's wife did solicit and entreat the deponent to move and persuade Bellott to effect the said marriage, and accordingly the deponent did move and persuade Bellott thereto; that Mountjoy promised to give Bellott a portion in marriage with his daughter, but what certain portion he does not remember nor when it has to be paid, nor whether Mountjoy promised Bellott £200 at his own decease; but he says Bellott was dwelling with Mountjoy in his house, and they had among themselves many conferences about the marriage which was afterward consummated.

Shakespeare's testimony taken by itself does not establish the fact of his residence in the Mountjoy house; but another witness—Mrs. Johnson—testifies that she was a servant in the Mountjoy household when Bellott was an apprentice and she remembered Mountjoy did send and persuade *one Mr. Shakespeare that lay in the house* to persuade Bellott to the marriage with his daughter. Another witness, Daniel Nicholas, also testified that he heard one Wm. Shakespeare say that Mountjoy did move Bellott by him the said Shakespeare, to have a marriage between his daughter and Bellott and for this purpose sent him, the said Shakespeare, to Bellott to persuade him to the same, as



Shakespeare told him, which marriage was effected upon promise of a portion with her; that Bellott requested the witness to go with his wife to Shakespeare to ascertain how much and what Mountjoy promised to bestow on his daughter in marriage; and that he did so, and that upon asking Shakespeare thereof, he answered that as he remembered, he would give her in marriage about £50 in money and certain household stuff. An apprentice of Bellott, one William Eaton, also testified that he had heard one Mr. Shakespeare say he was sent by Mountjoy to Bellott to have a marriage between Bellott and Mountjoy's daughter, and that he had heard Mr. Shakespeare say that he was wished by Mountjoy to make proffer of a certain sum that Mountjoy said he would give Bellott with his daughter in marriage.

The dramatist, George Wilkins, testified as to the goods the Bellotts brought with them when they came to sojourn with him. The testimony of other witnesses showed that Mountjoy had two houses which netted him an income of about £17 to £20 a year, besides his own rent and the rent of a "sojourner" with him. The houses are described "the one wherein he dwelleth, divided into two tenements, and a lease of a house in Brainford". The house he dwelt in is described as a "house in Muggle Street and in Silver Street"—that is on the corner. As there were but two corners, and other documents show that "Neville's Inn" was on the west side of the street, the Mountjoy house is definitely located. Here, then, Shakespeare seems to have lived during all the time of Bellott's apprenticeship, from 1598 to 1604, and in 1612 Mountjoy still had a "sojourner in his house with him".



This house was burned in 1666, and the building now occupying the site belongs to New College, Oxford University, and is an inn known as "Coopers Arms".

The location was described in 1603 by John Stowe as one "in which there be divers faire houses", and by Ben Jonson as "the region of money, a good seat for an usurer". Shakespeare must have been a prosperous man to live there. In the parish on the North lived Ben Jonson, Nathaniel Field, Thomas Dekker, Anthony Munday, and William Johnson; to the east and south were the homes of John Heminge and Henry Condell, and Shakespeare's way to the theatre would take him by their doors, and past the Mermaid Tavern. It would also take him past the house in Bread Street where John Milton was born, and where he was a boy eight years of age at Shakespeare's death. Shakespeare was already a man to be pointed out as he walked the street, and Milton's poetic taste manifested itself early. Shakespeare's only son died at the age of eleven; John Milton, as we know from an early portrait, was a handsome boy. Was it of a stranger, or of a man who had been pointed out to him as "the great poet" and who often gave him kindly greeting as he passed, that Milton afterward wrote

"MY Shakespeare"—

*"Dear son of memory, great heir of fame."*

The discoveries of Professor Wallace have added one more to the authentic autographs of Shakespeare, and this one being abbreviated has confirmed the authenticity of another which was before doubted because it was abbreviated. He has shown us Shakespeare as a "sojourner" in the house of a Frenchman and on such intimate terms with the family that he is appealed to

in an affair that was about equally love and business. One of these plays written during this sojourn was *King Henry V*, in which we have the amusing attempt of Katherine to learn English from her maid Alice; the bluster and threats of Pistol to his French prisoner, which are put into French by a boy; the love-making of King Henry to Katherine, of which she understands a little and guesses the rest; and finally Shakespeare has immortalized his host in the French herald Montjoy, who pronounces his defiance and craves favor for the conquered, in good English.

That no really new and authentic information concerning Shakespeare should have been discovered for over two hundred years and until Professor Wallace uncovered these old Court records may be a bit discouraging to the Hobbyist; but this clear location of the man during a period which has hitherto been a period of mystery is a great comfort to the Shakespearian devotee. It leaves less room for those mysteries out of which theories Baconian and others may be hatched.

It seems to me that Shakespearian students and Hobbyists have never given sufficient study to Richard Burbage. Few men realize what a part he played in the development of Shakespeare's genius. He was the leading tragic actor of the time and the leading man of Shakespeare's company. Undoubtedly Shakespeare wrote some of his greatest pieces with Burbage in mind. They were fitted to a degree to Burbage's equipment. Burbage probably played Hamlet and Lear and Macbeth and Othello and other great rôles, the first time they were ever presented. This alone ought to give him a kind of Godship amongst actors,

but I have never observed the existence of such a sentiment.

The Alpha and Omega of Shakespeariana is, and probably always will be, the Folio of 1623. I have criticised its editors. They deserve it. But the service to literature which lies in what they did is so vast that criticism is after all a work of supererogation. Admitting that they were the blind tools of fate, still the editors did this great thing. For what would our literature be if they had not done it? What fame indeed would Shakespeare have otherwise? The doors of oblivion had all but closed on much that Shakespeare had done when this book came from the press. The plays already published in the quartos, like the two long poems and the sonnets, would have survived probably, but without the work of Heminge and Condell and their associates, there is small probability that we should to-day know that such a play as *The Tempest* ever existed, or *Julius Caesar*, or *Macbeth*, or *Antony and Cleopatra*, or *As You Like It*, or *Coriolanus*, and others.

From the day the First Folio was issued, Shakespeare's fame steadily advanced to the conquest of the world.

The time is not very far off when substantially every extant copy of the First Folio and every quarto issued prior to 1650 will be located in the great public, or University, libraries of the Anglo-Saxon world. They will ultimately come to be items having such a universal interest that private ownership would be as anomalous as private ownership now would be of the Last Judgment or the Night Watch or the Last Supper. We who collect and preserve these sacred relics do


more than gratify our tastes and educate our own souls: we help to project through the darkness that inevitably falls over the track of the centuries, a ray of light which will tell the coming generations of the veritable existence of that supreme genius who took the English language when it was crude and made it so flexible and sonorous that it is like to become the common speech of the world,—who sprang from parents not far removed from illiteracy to become the wonder, “the study and the admiration of divines and philosophers, of soldiers and statesmen \* \* \* ; who has touched many spirits finely to fine issues, and has been for three centuries a source of delight and understanding, of wisdom and consolation.”

## SOME JEFFERSONIAN MAXIMS

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AN AFTER-DINNER RESPONSE  
DELIVERED JANUARY 15, 1912, AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE  
NEW YORK STATE BANKER'S ASSOCIATION (GROUP  
VIII) WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

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 THOMAS JEFFERSON wrote at the top of our political credo two maxims, the truth of which he declared was self-evident. (1) That all men are created equal. (2) That they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

In order to sustain the first declaration, political writers have indulged in more exegetical flip-flaps than would be necessary to prove that the world was made in six days. The world was not made in six days, whatever the meaning of the first chapter of Genesis may be; and men are not created equal, whatever Jefferson may have meant by his immortal dictum.

The difference between nien at birth, congenital differences, are as great as those between two tender slips just pushing their tops into the sunlight,—one to become a primrose pale, the other a towering sequoia. There are only a few sequoias on earth now, just as there are at any given time only a few really great and strong men on earth. In order that we may properly admire our sequoias, we put them on a reservation; if I were to describe the sort of reservation into

which a considerable section of society would like to place some of our great men, I might be charged with an attempt to impede the orderly enforcement of the criminal law.

We began to disprove Jefferson's first "self-evident" truth politically when we wrote our fundamental law; we began to disprove it industrially as soon as we went to work under the impulse of a national consciousness, as soon as our congenital differences felt the quickening power of opportunity. We were a little slow in comprehending our opportunities; we were a little late in getting to work. But at the close of the Civil War the stage was finally set for the presentation of the industrial drama for which all previous history had been in a sense a preparation. The tragedy was over. The question of where sovereignty resided had been settled. Some—not all—of the conflicting theories which created the Confederation, which threatened the Colonies with chaos and ruin, which lived insidiously in the compromises of the Constitution, had been reconciled by the arbitrament of war. Nation building industrially and commercially then began.

If Jefferson's first maxim had been true, the intervening years would not be filled, as they are, with a record of glorious and imperishable achievement; they would record the futile and hopeless efforts of mediocrity. But Jefferson in his first dictum was wrong, utterly, eternally wrong. Every fact in the situation after Appomattox was potentially a denial of the first of Jefferson's self-evident truths. The hunger of the centuries was ours, and before us lay the Garden of Promise. The hope of all the millions who had sought opportunity and found little was in our souls; and



before us lay a continent which could keep the promise both to the ear and to the hope. The imagination of all the men and women who had dreamed and died dreaming, burst into activity in us. We seized opportunity with a determination which infused into action the ecstasy of battle. Courage, energy, foresight, capacity, swept on to their logical, if sometimes ruthless and cruel triumphs. Cowardice, sloth, improvidence, and incapacity, bore fruit that was perhaps more than ordinarily bitter. The unequal powers and qualities of men not only asserted themselves, but were emphasized. The sequoias began to rear their splendid tops even over the great pines, the cedars and the oaks; they in turn overshadowed the trees of smaller growth.

Industrial and commercial development went on stupendously, and without overmuch thought of either the written or the unwritten law. We traveled so fast that it took nearly twenty years to discover that we had been engaging in business practices prohibited and made crimes by law. Out of this condition have sprung the problems of the day.

They assume three phases:

- 1st.—Problems caused by fear—fear inspired by the activities and size of modern corporations. This fear is merely a reincarnation of the feeling which led the farmers of England to attack Stephenson when he built the first railroad; a reincarnation of the fear which caused such vehement opposition to the Constitution in 1789; a reincarnation of the feeling which has so frequently caused riot and murder when labor-saving machinery has been introduced.

2d.—Problems following the wrongs committed by these corporations, first under the barbarism of ruthless competition, and second under the cruelty of monopoly to which competition automatically and logically leads.

3d.—Problems growing out of the civic demoralization which followed when the best brains and character of the country abandoned statecraft for business.

Now as to the remedy. Every after-dinner speaker has a remedy. Else why have after-dinner speakers!

It is certain that a condition created by twenty-five years of almost unchecked industrial growth on the one side and civic atrophy on the other, cannot be cured by any quackery, by any specific, by any cure-all legislation. The chief trouble is fear. General business is now in an unusually sound condition, but it is disturbed. It isn't greatly menaced by the amazing attitude of the Department of Justice in Washington—but it thinks it is. The people are also disturbed. They are not menaced by the mere size of corporations, but they think they are. Capital is afraid; the people are afraid. You can't banish fear by legislation. If you legislate hurriedly, you will probably increase it, and at the same time you may destroy the beneficent power of certain natural processes in which, after all, the real remedy lies.

When general business comes to realize, as it will after a little, that the Sherman Law means no more to it than the law against larceny means to the average upright citizen,—that will be a remedy. When the people come to understand, as they will after a while,

that the shameful record which lies at the doors of the American Sugar Company in Brooklyn, does not represent either the methods or the ideas of general business—that will be a remedy. When the prudent and law-abiding masses learn, as they will soon, that the McNamaras and the other criminals higher up who have not yet confessed, do not represent either the ideas or the methods of the laboring man—that will be a remedy.

When the Supreme Court has rendered a controlling opinion, as it will in time, which in terms of a specific corporation tells business what it *can do*—having already told what it can't do—that will be a remedy.

When we settle another phase of State Rights by holding, as we ultimately must, that all business transactions between residents of different States shall be regulated by our national, and not by our state, citizenship,—that will be a remedy.

When sinful business—whether so consciously or unconsciously—learns, as it will and with no further legislation, that there is a power in public opinion beyond even the power of statutes—that will be a remedy.

When men stop for breath, under the strenuous demands of business and ask whether they have done their duty as citizens under the contract which they made with society in the right of franchise—that will be a remedy.

There are proposals, on the other hand, which just as certainly are not remedies.

A campaign for the disorganization of highly organized business is no remedy. What we need is not less efficiency anywhere; we want all the efficiency in busi-

ness that we now have, and the same efficiency in statecraft.

To destroy the strong is no remedy. We need all the strength we have.

To make success a crime is no remedy, because life and liberty cannot be protected by failure.

To compel the Supreme Court to enter a contest in guessing the missing word will not do as a permanent remedy. All the Court might not always guess right.

A return to ruthless competition is no remedy. The attempt of the President and the Attorney General to compel men who have adopted the law of co-operation to abandon it and return to the barbarism of competition will be as futile as was the attempt of the Emperor Julian (a Pagan at heart) to compel the restoration, in a Christian age, of the worship of the ancient gods. The historian tells us that Julian met with bitter disappointment. "On the day of the annual festival", says Gibbon, "he hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the Emperor found only a single goose provided at the expense of a priest." Julian failed, and he was an Emperor. If those officials who are now attempting to compel business to abandon its new faith and re-adopt a dying paganism, would cast their own political horoscopes they will do well to remember Julian's end because that end will be theirs politically. Tradition, if not history, says that when wounded and dying in the deserts of Persia, Julian cast his own blood toward Heaven and cried "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"

The prodigious growth of the last forty years has been substantially confined to industry and commerce.

In no portion of our governmental machinery, from the school-house to the White House—except perhaps in the army and navy—have we since 1865 made any very marked progress in methods, ideas, efficiency or men. On the other hand, in methods, in ideas, in efficiency, and especially in men, commerce and industry have made, during the same period, progress which is nothing less than revolutionary.

Revolutionary achievements—whether in government or industry—are likely to follow revolutionary methods and be followed by revolutionary results. There isn't so much difference after all between an unlimited opportunity in commerce and industry and an unlimited opportunity in war. Strength and brains and resources win in each case, and the battle which precedes the erection of a great industry as well as the battle which precedes the erection of a great dynasty, frequently leaves a field strewn with sickening evidences that men are not created equal. Industry as we conduct it is war. Commerce is war. The "industrial army" is a well-chosen phrase. If the workers in our shops may be called an army, then the limited train, the fast freight, the telegraph and the telephone are, if I may strain a figure of speech, the navy which strikes at enemies near and far. (That may be an Irish navy but is the only kind of a commercial navy we have.)

All this has inspired fear and incidentally committed wrongs. The fear and the wrong might have been mitigated, perhaps entirely avoided, if business had heeded the everlasting truth of Jefferson's second maxim.

Just what, now, does the second maxim mean? What is its philosophy?

The right to life! That means the right to a place in the sun; it means that, after all, life is the only real value. It means the Golden Rule. We call that race solidarity.

The right to liberty! That means the right to think, to assemble, to speak. It means, too, that a man who knows liberty to be only another word for duty and does his duty, may not be crushed by the so-called necessities of business success. We call that race consciousness.

The right to the pursuit of happiness! This part of Jefferson's maxim seems just a well-sounding phrase, because happiness doesn't always go with success, nor is it a stranger to failure. But happiness is always absent when there is a sense of wrong. If society is so organized as to protect life and safeguard liberty, happiness can make shift for itself.

In the fierce conflicts of the last generation, we have forgotten this philosophy. We have assumed that the great principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and crystallized into fundamental law in the Constitution were safe beyond attack and needed no attention. We have assumed that they really bore no relation to business; we have assumed that they bore only an academic relation to our current work; that they belonged to the sphere of civil government, and not to the world of industry and commerce. Now we are discovering our error; we are beginning to realize that exploitation is exploitation, whether it is employed by an English King or by an American corporation; that life and liberty may be as directly attacked by business methods as by political institutions.

Who, in the last analysis, is the good, and who is the



bad, citizen? Is the man who takes his right of franchise at twenty-one, plunges into business with all his powers and thinks of politics only when it impedes his progress, a good, or a bad, citizen?

Under our form of government, with the pledge to preserve life and liberty for his fellows as well as for himself, where as between statecraft and business does this man's first, where does his higher, obligation lie? How has he regarded it? How much thought or time or conviction has he devoted to the doctrine of self-government, to the contract which he made with all his fellows when he took the rights and privileges which inhere in manhood suffrage? We know, as a matter of fact, that in this country most of the men who have done things in the last generation have deserted statecraft utterly. They did not intend to desert; they are not now conscious that they are deserters, but they are. They are in the thick of the fight industrially; they are full of the ecstasy of battle and of conquest; they are doing big things,—things that they believe are for the good of humanity, as they are—but they are to a degree unconscious of the fact, and their work has made them unconscious of the fact, that weaker men have certain unalienable rights which even the necessities of success must respect. These men have come to refer to the politician with contempt. If the average politician is contemptible, who made him so? Opportunity makes the thief, and no faithless treasurer, innocent of theft himself, who has left his vaults open and his books unchecked was ever morally more guilty than is the average business man who, in his eager pursuit of success has abandoned his civic obligations and turned the conduct of government over to men

whom he holds in contempt. Unconsciously the business man has degenerated as a citizen. He has slipped from point to point as emergencies have arisen, first neglecting legislation himself and then hiring lawyers to tell him how he could get around laws that seem to impede his progress.

Finally the explosion came in the life insurance investigation of 1905. Now we have a fresh explosion every morning.

Most of the remedies suggested seem to me like mending a clock by tinkering with its hands. Before we can plan any affirmative remedy, we must get back to the contract by virtue of which we are citizens of the Republic. When that contract is carried out, remedies will suggest themselves. But how enforce the contract? Can it be enforced at all? Must we rely entirely upon the citizen's sense of responsibility and continue to make prosecuting attorneys into statesmen because all our real statesmen are busy making money? Already in our pitiful tinkering with the situation, we have been obliged to make numberless things statutory crimes which are in themselves no more crimes than it is for me to address you. In this State we have made success a crime. What we have made crimes under the Sherman puzzle only our humorous Attorney General can tell. Which leads me to remark that if the order of creation could have been reversed and man made on the first instead of the last day, the Creative Fiat might have produced an Attorney General at the very beginning, and that circumstance might have changed all history. Because, that officer introduced to a world that was already "without form and void" would have had no occupation, and when the Creator had examined

the work of that day He might not have called it "good". In that event the first Attorney General would have been the last. Think what that would mean!

Whatever new legislation may be needed or enacted at the present time, we shall never reach our ideal of a self-governed people carrying on great industrial enterprises with justice and fairness, until both politicians and business men cease to "work for their own pockets all the time". In politics we must have the efficiency of business. In business we must have more of race consciousness and something of the Golden Rule, and a full recognition of the truth of Jefferson's second maxim.

Until we make this fundamental correction, we shall probably go on enacting more laws, defining new crimes, only to face the necessity each time of hiring another lawyer.

The great remedy therefore lies in a civic renaissance; in a re-creation of the sense of civic obligation which the fathers felt; in the knowledge and the high ideals which Longfellow expressed when, apostrophizing the Union in his poem *The Building of the Ship*, he said:

"We know what Master laid thy keel,  
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge, and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

That knowledge we have in part at least forgotten; those ideals we have almost wholly neglected. Before we can make a sound beginning in solving the problems of the day we must stop legislating all the time, go back, acquire that knowledge over again and give to citizenship a part at least of the idealism and power which we now give almost wholly to business.

# LIFE INSURANCE AND THE SUPREME PURPOSE

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AN ADDRESS BEFORE A CONFERENCE OF THE  
LEADING FIELDMEN OF THE NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY  
HOTEL CHAMPLAIN, BLUFF POINT, N. Y.,  
SEPTEMBER 17, 1912

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**T**HAT title suggests that I claim to know what the Supreme Purpose is. I immediately file a disclaimer. I claim no such knowledge. I leave that to those who will probably criticise me for my lack of faith.

We are beginning to understand that a man may love justice, may long for a better social order, may have visions of society dominated by advanced ideals, without making any claim to completeness of knowledge, accompanied indeed by the admission that knowledge is very incomplete. Moreover these ideals may be so clear, their benefits so certain, their attainment so desirable, that their power becomes as compelling to those who have that vision as it could be if they were the product of Divine Revelation. For their establishment men may be willing to fight, even to die. They have done that; they are doing it. That men will continue so to act is one of the inspiring, prophetic facts of our day.

That men should fight and die for what they believe to be the Divine Will is not strange—I am not sure that is even greatly to be praised. If they failed so to act, we

would despise them. That men are willing to fight for truths which they have discovered by experiment, experience and toil, is a fact of a newer sort and of an unmistakable significance. Even revelations, so-called, are beginning to have respect for each other. The followers of truth so discovered are beginning to hear a common voice in expressions which on their face are very diverse. It gave the Christian world pause recently when it saw the whole Japanese nation on its knees praying for the life of a beloved Ruler, and praying to a God who is not the Christian's God. Even faiths change. Jupiter no longer sits in Olympus, Apollo no longer roams the groves of Greece. The Gods of Egypt are dead. Each of those ancient religions represented at bottom practically what present-day religions represent. Moreover in every great religious system at all related to Christianity or Islamism there lives much that came from the worship of Gods that are dead and rituals that are otherwise forgotten.

Revelation—so-called—therefore is in course of time engrafted on later revelations, which is only another way of saying that truth, or what seems to be truth, survives. Everything, even revelation, comes at last to the test of experience.

As between what we call revelation and that slow and painful process which seeks the truth through evidence, the latter holds an increasingly important place in the work of the world. I shall not quarrel with you if you say that what science has compassed is merely another form of revelation. It is. Science does not claim to arrive at the Supreme Purpose. It makes clear the fact that there is such a purpose, and

it gives the student a grip on himself and on eternal verities after the claims of revelation have not infrequently left him merely an agnostic.

The thinker of to-day may seem to say that the Gods are all dead; but he means only that earlier conceptions of the Supreme Purpose were crude and largely wrong. He does not mean that there is no Supreme Purpose. In the wonders of the world discovered by his microscope; in the fathomless abysses of the sky which he sweeps with his great reflectors; in the story written in the rocks under his feet; in the depths of the sea and in the evolution of society he sees an unmistakable purpose.

Whether men follow the admonitions of revealed truth or the admonitions of attained knowledge, they really seek the same thing: they seek to interpret the Supreme Purpose—to find the way.

Just now this quest is pronouncedly sociological; it has not abandoned the heavens nor the microscope nor the laboratory, but in the processes of government and society it finds large and vital problems the solution of which lies entirely within the responsibilities of society itself.

At the present time men seek social justice, a larger liberty, protection against the buffetings of circumstance and an expanding knowledge.

As a people we are apt to assume that social unrest indicates progress, to say that expressions of dissatisfaction at least indicate intellectual and moral vigor. Social unrest doesn't necessarily mean that. The evil in the world is so real that I don't wonder men long found no explanation of it except in the doctrine of a personal Devil. Agitation may mean



progress and it may mean reaction; it may mean patriotism and it may mean ambition or envy or malice. The overthrow of Rome wasn't the last effort of barbarism. And the decay of Rome which made her overthrow easy wasn't the end of national decadence. I do not believe that national decadence is going on in any considerable people to-day and I know it is not going on here. But the very character of our citizenship makes the demagogue's opportunity, and the outworking of a demand for justice and a larger opportunity gives the agitator his chance. Not every agitator is a safe leader and his outpourings do not always represent real grievances.

What the world constantly seeks is that most difficult thing, a better process. The history of the world is largely a record of abandoned processes. A process of government has been good one day and bad the next, good in one country and a failure elsewhere, good for one people and ruinous to another, good in one age and productive of injury and wrongs in a later time. Still the struggle has gone on and for the average man the quest has always been the same—what process will give justice, a larger opportunity, certainty and expanding knowledge?

Seventeen Hundred Seventy-Six as an historic date has come to be so familiar to us that we sometimes forget its significance. Earlier than that there had been no real democracy, no real freedom in the world. And what is the essence of the process then adopted? Clearly the doctrine that all power emanates from the individual and that every process in government and society is either the direct exercise of that power or its exercise through an agent to whom it has been

temporarily entrusted. How has it worked? Wonderfully well.

And yet we are now vexed by uncounted orators who are telling us why existing processes are wrong and how we can get a fuller social justice. The machine does creak. That frightens some people. Justice has advanced mightily within a century, and so have men's ideas of what justice is. That complicates the whole problem. What men would earlier have taken thankfully they now reject scornfully. The established order is again attacked and there is a large demand that even our Federal Constitution be dumped on the scrap heap of history. If that Constitution long fails to give justice, certainty, a wider opportunity and advancing knowledge, then onto the scrap heap it should go. If it is clearly not sufficient as a process, then it is likely to be abandoned even when no better process has been evolved.

The discovery of really universal laws is a slow process. We have discovered very few. We have had to abandon entirely some of those which claimed the authority of revelation and we have had to modify some and abandon some that came through experience and research. Only a few great principles are established beyond reasonable question.

In society and in government we are still groping, still experimenting, and we shall continue to do so to the end of time. We are advancing we trust; but leaders loudly disagree and the new road which one says leads to social justice, another affirms leads to reaction and ruin.

The fact is there have been times when substantial justice has been had and rapid progress made under a

monarchical form of government, under the sway of the Divine Right doctrine. There have been times when only injustice and chaos have resulted under governments democratic in form. The King has sometimes done well. Demos has sometimes done ill. What did the King do when he did well? He recognized the paramount rights of his subjects. He did not treat all alike, because their powers, duties and rights were not alike. He protected the weak, but gave them only what they deserved. He encouraged the strong but restrained them from taking more than they deserved. In all such instances the King really exercised sovereignty. What did Demos do when it did ill? It rated all men as equal, because sovereign. But when these sovereigns neglected to exercise sovereignty, when men's natural inequalities asserted themselves the strong oppressed and robbed the weak until the weak revolted and through force of numbers took frightful revenge.

The weakness of democracy lies in its first and most attractive appeal. It asserts men's equality. Men are not equal. Because of his sovereignty man has certain inalienable rights, but these rights are limited and beyond them man is entitled only to what he wins by his energy, his capacity and his honesty. Some men can in the nature of things win little, and they should be protected. Some men can win much, and they should be controlled. What social idea suggests a plan which will give men their just and proper rewards?

What Plan gives us the latest, the most advanced, the most certain index to what we call the Supreme Purpose? What plan, starting with the doctrine that all power emanates from the individual, and clinging

logically to the principle in its outworking that men are not created equal finally achieves the largest measure of social justice along with distinct success?

I answer: The Idea and the Plan of Life Insurance.

The New York Life is in its condition to-day a complete illustration of the weakness and of the immeasurable strength of democracy. I am referring now not to the methods by which the policy-holders govern the Company, but to the philosophy of the business itself.

Here at bottom is true democracy. But it doesn't stand on any foolish doctrine that all men are created equal. It stands on the doctrine that all men are created unequal, so unequal that some are not eligible to its membership on any terms, some are eligible on special terms, and most on the same terms; but equality means an equal return for whatever the individual is and does and nothing more. Any other doctrine would be—and has been—in life insurance as deadly as is that practice to-day which makes the vote of a hobo equal to the vote of a President Taft or a Woodrow Wilson.

To establish the folly of that practice needs no argument. The weakness and danger of this doctrine of equality has at least one startling and almost grotesque illustration in our own time. The Southern negro is protected in his right of franchise by the solemn covenants of the Federal Constitution, but he doesn't vote and few people anywhere feel deeply aggrieved on that account. The trouble is not that the Southern negro has no natural rights, but that this doctrine of equality, this franchise guaranteed by the Federal Constitution gives him rights to which he is not entitled, rights which he abused when he had them, rights

which the carpet-bagger quickly learned how to use. The negro—yes, even the Southern negro—should have a voice in governmental affairs. It is wrong and dangerous that he has none; only less wrong and dangerous than it would be for him again to have full rights. It is just as wrong for the gun-man, the loafer, the gambler, the white-slaver to have a power in elections equal to the power of the best citizens.

The fact is we run society and the government at Washington on what in life insurance we call the assessment plan. This plan is unscientific from its very inception. It has always failed and it always must fail. The early years of an assessment Company are very like the early years of this Republic. Everything is lovely. Everything was lovely at first with us under the Constitution. Expenses were low because nationality had only been born and it made few demands; but an unmeasured deficit was accumulating just as it does in an assessment company. That deficit took its fearful toll in 1861 to 1865. It is the same civic deficit which has led to the social unrest and almost social revolution which we now face.

Suppose the New York Life was to-day fully liable under all the contracts it ever issued on which default in premiums has occurred, what would be its condition? Isn't that relatively our condition under our form of government—or rather under our practice? Our government guaranties never decrease, through a mass of half-baked legislation they constantly increase; but the civic revenue by which alone these guaranties can be made good, the patriotic attention to civic duty called for by our theory of government, constantly lapses. Default follows that lapse, and while that

default does not operate as quickly as it does on a bond, it operates just as certainly. A balance is finally struck. In business this balance sometimes represents full payment, but usually at a heavy cost to some one; frequently it represents partial repudiation, which of course means shame as well as loss. In government and society it always means both shame and loss; it means bitterness, discontent, civic inefficiency and that general sense of social wrong which blossoms in the red flag of anarchy.

Constantly increasing civic obligations and a steadily decreasing civic revenue explain the whole political situation to-day. Civic obligations increase inevitably. The functions of government naturally and properly widen. Education, transportation, heating, lighting, the care of the socially inefficient—all these functions expand constantly and every citizen is their beneficiary. We go on the theory that these benefits can be denied to none. In educational matters they are compulsory.

But the civic revenue, the patriotic attention of each citizen to his duties, constantly fails—sometimes from sheer neglect, sometimes from selfishness, sometimes from crookedness. The sovereign fails to act. It is well to face the truth. We are following a practice in government which followed by any business would ruin it, and followed much farther will ruin us. That sounds pessimistic, but isn't it true?

Can we pay our civic debts by optimism, by good crops, by hard work, by business success? Can we depend on fiat citizenship any more safely than we could on fiat money? Can we assume that all will come right on the asset side of the account with no



real business program to see that it is right? I am not now referring to the material assets raised by the crude and unjust systems of taxation which we rely on. I don't know what the limit of our power to raise revenue may be. It seems almost unlimited. I am referring to something which underlies even that, which is the essence of the idea that distinguishes this government from all governments that have preceded it. Back of the material and financial benefits of our expanding system lie the blessings of free speech, of a free press, of religious liberty and of free men. These are the real things—these in their widening application include the inspiring possibilities of our future. We are contracting almost unlimited liabilities on these accounts, assuming obligations which can be met only if there is a corresponding civic income. What are the indications as to that income? Is it holding up? Is it expanding as our liabilities pile up? He would be a bold man who answered in the affirmative. Are we doing anything effective to increase that income? Or are we piling up obligations with no sure source of revenue out of which to meet them? It is easy to contract obligations in government: that is only another expression for conferring benefits. Men feel like philanthropists when they do it. Moreover it makes votes. The pork barrel is always popular.

But the other side of the problem is not so simple. Most of you would perhaps be shocked by a suggestion that you ought to be punished every time you neglect a civic duty. That sort of legislation wouldn't be popular; it wouldn't make votes. Statesmen shun it. But can anyone make a good argument against it? If we spend money it must be paid. If we expand civic

rights we should do so only if we know that our drafts on civic obligation will be honored. If they are not honored, we, having already contracted the obligation, certainly face dishonor.

In business generally the wise man enters into no contract unless he has reasonable assurance that he will be able to meet that contract's demands. The business man may fail; his calculations may have been erroneous, his assumptions wrong, but he has a plan and he struggles desperately to carry it through. In government and society there is a plan, a beautiful plan, but in the light of what we know about human nature many assumptions that are fundamental are wrong and many calculations erroneous and there is no business program for its execution.

In life insurance there is also a plan, a perfect plan. There is no error in the calculation, there is no fault in the assumptions; assets and obligations, benefits and duties, power and promise automatically adjust themselves and a man gets all he pays for but no more. At the same time every member of that republic is certain that whatever is true of him is true of all his associates.

Would there be anything unwise or unreasonable or illogical in a program which treated government and its obligations in the same way? Would it be in any respect unsound, for example, if, when we give men the benefit of free schools, we at the same time laid specific civic—not merely financial—obligations upon them and to those obligations attached suitable penalties? That may seem a bit startling, but is it at all unreasonable? Isn't it logical and necessary?

Let us brush aside the sort of superstition which assumes that a free government means unlimited giving; that a free government means only individual freedom to act or not to act as one sees fit.

Free government means in theory an assumption of personal responsibilities of the highest order, larger obligations than attach to the citizen under any other form of government. If the sovereign neglects or refuses to act, why not coerce that particular sovereign? Why not enforce his responsibilities? Why not enforce them by statute? Are we not now face to face with conditions which indicate that there is really no other recourse and that there really never was any other safe and sound program?

"But" you ask, "how shall we do this?" I answer just as we do it in life insurance. If a man lapses in life insurance his rights and benefits are reduced accordingly. We take nothing away from him; we simply refuse to give him what he hasn't paid for. We can't compel a man to pay his premium, but we can and do protect ourselves on the other side of the account.

Why should not a civic as well as a financial account be kept by the State with every citizen? A regular debit and credit? The credits the State must give; the debits the State should enforce.

If the State has charged against the citizen the duty of voting, why shouldn't that be checked up and enforced? If the citizen fails to do his duty and can't justify his failure, why shouldn't he be fined? And if he fails again, why shouldn't he be jailed? And if he fails a third time, why shouldn't he be classed civically with other incompetents—the insane, the criminal, the feeble-minded? By that process we should blow

away a lot of fog, we should cease to depend on him for the civic income which we never get.

If a citizen sells his vote, we are supposed to have a way to deal with him now though we seldom use it effectively; but if a man sells his vote isn't he in reality a traitor and should he receive any less drastic punishment than we deal out to traitors?

The debit side presents the serious problems when we face the facts; the credit side is where most of our statesmen are busy. It's easy to give money and privilege away. But nothing is more certain than this: we must face the facts. We must do in government what we do in life insurance. Can anyone overstate the benefits to all if this government were as solvent civically as the New York Life is financially? If its civic debits were certainly equal to the civic benefits it has pledged?

Parties may clamor about social injustice, about tariffs and State Rights, about trusts and big business; but these questions would not exist, or would be relatively simple if the citizen was not civically in default. Their solution lies not in loud promises and protestations, but in the simple and effective and equitable processes by which this Company has come to be not merely a great storehouse of social power, but a great exemplar of how to get and to give social justice.

The Supreme Purpose whatever else it may involve, must involve social justice. A demand for social justice lies back of all the political turmoil of to-day. But no program advanced by any political party does anything more than talk about it, talk around it. The Socialists go beyond it; all the others go astray. Can you imagine a political leader really facing the music,

really telling the people the truth? Can you see a party making the citizens' civic obligations a part of its platform and solemnly declaring for a jail sentence for men who persistently neglect their civic duties?

Crying out against the Bosses is all right. But how busy with civic duties have you seen most of those who cry loudest? Has the Boss done anything but appropriate in a perfectly natural way the property of the good citizen who has been so busy that he left his civic heritage to grow up to weeds?

Indeed I am not sure which element of society in the long run is more to be condemned: the Bosses who merely seize their opportunities or the Business Men who let things go to the dogs for years and then rise up in rage and upset for the moment the Bosses' program. Having upset the Bosses, the Good Citizen struts around for a time looking virtuous, passes a lot of laws which further extend civic privileges, and then back he goes again to the old condition. He lapses, but his claim on general society does not correspondingly decrease and the deficit which follows ultimately results in another civic outburst. The Bosses never would have a chance if the good people would just be honest with their own form of government. Tammany Hall has never had at any one time a membership of over 15,000, but that was enough because there was no real opposition.

Government isn't a joke; society isn't a joke. All values, all certainty, all business, all justice, all progress, sooner or later question both, and the answer received fixes values and measures progress. This sovereign citizen of ours unquestionably asserts his sovereignty in business, but repudiates his sovereignty



in most of the things which ultimately control business. In business he insists on the rule of law and he himself makes and enforces that law. The man who disregards the laws of business may be haled into an ordinary court and punished or he may be convicted and punished before any statute law becomes operative. Most business failures are the result of lawlessness which the written statute does not reach.

In civic affairs our sovereign exhibits no such efficiency. He is not a lawmaker; he is a lawbreaker. Acting on a plan of government which is the product of thousands of years of struggle, we assert a sovereignty which we in a large measure neglect, and have thereby become a nation of lawbreakers. The penalties of that lawlessness are ultimately visited not alone upon the guilty but upon the whole body of society. Then the demagogue gets busy. Then the Constitution is assailed. Then every political nostrum known in the laboratory of quackery is brought out and our ears are furiously assaulted. One man shrieks about the high cost of living; another shrieks about the Bosses; another shrieks about the Tariff; all suggest a lot of new things which will give us something more. But not a party or a man gets down to real business; not a party or a man touches the real trouble—which is that civically we are not business men. We are flying kites, depending on fiat civic virtue. We are pursuing a program which would wreck any business enterprise, and we ought not to expect any real relief until we rise to the level of our civic professions and pay our civic debts.

The road that leads to the land of the Supreme Purpose runs through the dominions of justice, where



certainty lives, where there is an expanding opportunity and a larger knowledge. On that road no idea has traveled so fast or so far as life insurance. In its train are justice, liberty, certainty and a knowledge which illumines the mind and unfetters the soul.

I suppose if any of us in some future state of existence comes to know the riddle of the universe and the processes by which man solved it, we shall see as we cannot see now the great points in history, we shall note the birth of ideas that were really decisive and advanced the consummation of the Supreme Purpose.

I can imagine a meeting of the \$200,000 Club in that state of existence, at which thankfulness will be our mastering sentiment—thankfulness for a shining part in the work, and with it will be mingled a feeling of pride because of our consciousness that when we met an opportunity which seemed to illuminate the Supreme Purpose we pursued it mightily; we worked and never dawdled.

# THE TAXATION OF ORGANIZED BENEFICENCE

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AN ADDRESS

TO THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS, STAFF AND GUESTS OF THE UNION  
CENTRAL LIFE, AT THE OPENING OF ITS HOME OFFICE,  
NOVEMBER 7, 1913, CINCINNATI, OHIO

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**S**TANDING within the precincts of this noble structure, surrounded not only by the men who guide the destinies of this great institution but also by the traditions which always cluster about a really great human enterprise, I realize that congratulations from me, or from any one, to be adequate must represent something more than merely happily chosen words.

The facts speak for themselves. Achievement stands all about us. Dreams have been made realities. Ideals have been nobly pursued and splendidly attained. Nothing that any of us says to-day can adequately describe the high purpose, the wise methods, the patient labors, and the moral steadfastness by which a life insurance organization has been here so administered that a great life insurance company has been built up. That such an institution exists is proof that a high purpose has ruled it, is proof that wise methods have been followed by it, and that patient labor has marked its whole existence; the Company itself is the rich reward of a moral steadfastness without which such success may not be achieved. Words, therefore, count

for little, and for nothing unless they are sympathetically uttered.

When I offer, in the name of the Company I have the honor to serve, sincere congratulations upon your entrance into this beautiful Home, I offer not merely words, but an appreciation born of intimate acquaintance with similar purposes, methods and labors, and a profound sympathy and daily experience with a like moral steadfastness.

I rejoice with you in your success. I know what success costs. I venerate the names of those who first set your feet in the right way and established your goings. My veneration is born of the pride I feel in the great names which adorn the history of my own institution. I greet most sympathetically those who to-day manage your affairs. That sympathy is born of experience in facing kindred problems, of efforts to uphold the best traditions of a great business, of a determination not to neglect any new processes or new standard which our larger experience demands that we should adopt.

The Union Central, like all life companies of similar age, has passed the experimental stages and has a history and an experience of its own. It has withstood those economic crises which, especially in this country, periodically depress business and disturb the value of securities. It has gained wisdom from the failures of other organizations less soundly organized. It has learned how circumspect a corporation and the officers of a corporation must be in order not to arouse public prejudice. It has seen how necessary it is to guard against the wiles of those who thrive upon denunciation. On the affirmative side, it has learned the in-

estimable value of integrity and courage. It has seen that those who build upon sure foundations need not fear the storm; that public opinion in the long run will follow the rules of common sense and fair-play.

Life insurance has now come to years of manhood, to years of strength, and, except in New York State, to a period of unlimited opportunity. In all the struggles that have preceded that condition, the Union Central has been a factor. In the organized forces which promise most for the future of general society, this Company has a definite place, and, in the great territory where it is located, the leading place.

If there were any really unchangeable and irrevocable canons of society and government, I should be disposed to complete my congratulations by suggesting that the Union Central's problems are all solved and its troubles are all over. But unfortunately—or perhaps I should say fortunately—your problems are not all solved and your troubles are not all over. It is true that your organization rests solidly on accepted tables of mortality and conservative assumptions as to rates of interest; it is true that your investments are soundly made; it is true that you are organizing society against its own weakness; that you are daily assembling unrelated and otherwise hostile money and impressing it with a social efficiency which the world as yet only faintly comprehends. It is true that your work is entirely creative, that it is in sympathy with every force that builds up and is hostile to every factor that disintegrates and destroys. When I say that of all the organized factors of society only a few can truthfully claim to possess these qualities, I assert only what every well-informed man knows to be a

fact; and yet I cannot congratulate you on that account over immunity from unjust attacks in the future. Indeed, so preverse are some of the forces of a democratic society that your virtues and your usefulness and your success are almost certain to be the source of some of your gravest problems, the cause of some of your most serious troubles.

One of the many problems that face you and me and all men charged with any considerable responsibility in this great field of work is taxation.

If I proceed now to discuss problems of taxation merely, I shall not have discussed the real problem which I have in mind, and yet the problem I have in mind finds its most concrete expression in terms of taxation. The real problem goes deeper. It is this:

How shall we make the people understand that a life insurance company is a pure democracy; that it is the most successful expression of democratic principles actually at work; that in it there is the justice which democracy aims to accomplish and otherwise largely fails to achieve; that it is a brother to all those who, from the beginning of time, have sought to assert the divinity that dwells in man, who have sought some process by which the sovereignty of the individual could be established and at the same time the immeasurable strength of men working together could be realized?

That this is what life insurance really means, society at large does not begin to comprehend. Indignant over their exploitation by the strong and the rich, men are disposed to classify the successful life insurance company along with the great trust, and to view it with the suspicion and fear with which they view—and

view not altogether unjustly—accumulated wealth and great business success. I do not claim that life insurance is entirely without fault. It has made some serious mistakes which have given some color of justification to such public opinion. But the real causes which have led to the misconceptions which exist are to be found in the imperfections of human nature and in some of those weaknesses which always have and always will be inherent in a democratic society.

One great weakness of a democratic society is that its beneficent forces are unorganized. Selfishness is organized, politics is organized, business is organized, even crime is organized. But the people, through lack of organization, frequently are unable to know when and how and where they have really achieved a triumph. The politician easily fools them; business not infrequently fools them. For this reason they sometimes find that the fruits of an apparent victory are at the last merely Apples of Sodom. On the other hand, and for the same reason, they sometimes fail to recognize a really democratic movement, a really democratic achievement.

That life insurance is organized beneficence, that it is democratic, that its money is the money of the people, that its extent is so great as to make any existing private fortune a matter of relative unimportance, that its billions of accumulations are more potent than any other money assembled for any purpose because of the social efficiency with which they are impressed,—in short, that it answers to a large degree the longings of the individual for a definite place in the wealth of the world, and for definite power against the organized selfishness of the world,—all these seem to be truths



that the people comprehend with great difficulty. Indeed, comprehension comes so slowly that the people themselves, through their accredited representatives, unwittingly harass and handicap and burden what are really their own best and dearest achievements.

I can at this time touch only upon one or two of the forms which this lack of understanding takes with regard to life insurance. One form is taxation.

We have, as a nation, recently been re-examining the bases and the principles of taxation in the matter of imported goods and of incomes. Congress has proclaimed its intention to strike the shackles from trade and industry and to lift the burden of the high cost of living from the consumer, or at least from the poor. There are shackles which bind life insurance and there is a high cost to the consumer in this field which is the direct product of unwise legislation, which in turn is a direct product of misconception by the insured themselves. Whatever life insurance costs beyond what it should is chiefly chargeable now to unwise legislation.

I shall not stop to review what may be called the shackles pure and simple which still exist in life insurance regulation. As a matter of fact, such shackles do not exist outside of the States of New York and Texas, and as originally forged they have been mostly broken. In New York they remain to-day in only two particulars: Limitation on the volume of business which a company may legally produce annually; and limitation on a company's margins of safety.

But as re-examination of processes of taxation is in order let us review concretely some facts with regard to the processes by which life insurance is now taxed: The legal reserve life insurance companies of the United

States paid in 1912, in addition to taxes on real estate, nearly \$13,000,000 on a total premium income of over \$666,000,000. That is to say, for every \$1,000 of capital which the insured paid in 1912 for the protection of their families through life insurance, the state took, in one form or another, about \$20. This is a heavier tax than the property tax in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston or San Francisco. Every dollar's worth of property upon the security of which the companies had invested their funds paid taxes where it was situated; but, in addition to that, for the mere privilege of existing and doing business, the States first and last took this fearful toll.

This is not only taxation of capital but excessive taxation from any point of view. It can perhaps be made more impressive if, for purposes of illustration, we apply the burden to some other phases of the business.

The ultimate purpose of life insurance, of course, is protection, and that finds expression in the money that is finally paid to the insured or to their beneficiaries.

If now we assume that the policy-holder was taxed upon what he received rather than upon what he paid, we find that for every \$1,000 paid to policy-holders in 1912 the state exacted in taxes almost \$29.

Again, if we assume that the chief benefit of life insurance is the amount paid in death claims, then we find that for every \$1,000 so paid the state exacted death duties to the amount of over \$63.

If it be said that expenses of life insurance are too high, managements may very well retort that the item of state taxes in every \$1,000 expenses amounts to \$72, and unlike ordinary expenses is a factor entirely beyond their control.

If people complain that dividends are too small, that condition is in part at least explained by taxes, because for every \$1,000 paid in dividends in 1912 the companies were obliged to pay \$140 in taxes; in other words, dividends on the average would have been 14% higher but for the moneys taken by the State for the privilege of doing business.

The latest development in our various forms of taxation in the country at large is the Income Tax. This tax reaches life insurance, as it did in the corporation tax which it supersedes, by levying 1% upon net income. If the Company which I have the honor to serve had paid to the Federal Government in 1912 as a tax on its net income what it paid to the States, the rate of taxation on that income would have been four and four-tenths per cent. This rate approximates the rate levied by the Income Tax on so much of private incomes as exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed \$500,000; in other words, it equals the rate applied by the existing law to those whom some people call "the criminal rich".

The indictment against such taxation is not complete when I recite merely the size of the burden. Another clause of the indictment must tell how the States destroy equity as between policy-holders. Neither in the rate, in the amounts paid, nor in the principle underlying the system of taxation, do the States agree.

Twenty-seven States levy a tax upon gross premiums without deductions.

In one State the rate is six-tenths of 1%;

In two States it is 1%;

In one State it is 1.44%;

In one it is 1.75%;

In two it is 1½%;

In eleven it is 2%;

In one it is 2½% on the first \$5,000 and 2% on the excess;

In one it is 2¼%;

In six it is 2½%;

And in one it is 3%.

Nineteen States and the District of Columbia levy a tax upon premiums after certain deductions:

In four States and in the District of Columbia the basis of the tax is premiums less dividends;

In nine States it is premiums less annual dividends;

In one State it is premiums less death losses;

In one State it is premiums less death losses not to exceed 25% of the premiums;

In two States it is premiums less policy claims;

In one State it is premiums less death losses, endowments and commissions;

In one State it is premiums less re-insurance premiums paid to domestic companies.

In two States only are premiums not taxed—Nevada and Massachusetts; but Massachusetts levies a tax upon the reserves of Massachusetts policy-holders, which is the most indefensible of all forms of life insurance taxation.

Among the lesser taxes imposed are some of the following in every State: state license tax, state fees, state and county license fees, city and county taxes, personal property tax.

Here are nineteen different rates of taxation, even if licenses and fees were the same in every State—which they are not. And yet the United States are supposed

to be a nation in which the citizens of each State are "entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States", where commercial intercourse between the citizens of the different states is free and untrammelled.

If any one of these rates of taxation is right, then eighteen of them are wrong.

The absurdity and injustice of the present situation will be illustrated if we assume that Congress were legislating upon the subject and that nineteen different rates of taxation were presented by representatives of nineteen different States, and, as the sponsors of each plan insisted upon their own, Congress should enact them all!

All this, notwithstanding the frequently repeated statute which forbids any company to "make or permit any discrimination between individuals of the same class or of equal expectation of life, in the amount or payment or return of premiums or rates charged for policies of insurance, or in the dividends or other benefits payable thereon, or in any of the terms and conditions of the policy". The first to violate these statutes are the States that have passed them. The companies could hardly have any object in violating them, and, so far as I know, no company ever voluntarily did. It would be difficult, however, to conceive of a greater travesty on justice in the matter of taxation than a program by which the States in one statute prohibit discriminations and in another enforce a program which compels discriminations.

We are, in a word, faced by this anomalous condition: Life insurance, using words in their ordinary significance, is not an investment at all. The money that

provides it represents, substantially in its entirety, unselfish sacrifice; and yet, no capital going into any ordinary business enterprise is anywhere in this country taxed as heavily as life insurance premiums are taxed.

Taxation is one of the oldest problems of government. Indeed it lies at the foundation of all government. The disposition on the part of the representatives of the people to get money for governmental purposes in the easiest, rather than in the right, way is in part at least a product of their resentment against the encroachment of organized wealth, against the inhumanity of organized ability. Responsible life insurance companies have money; they must have it. But the people as a whole do not understand that necessity, they do not appreciate its significance, and they do not realize that that money is their money, that it is beneficent and not malevolent in character, that it is really the fine product of an ideal democracy. It is even difficult for them to understand that the project itself should be encouraged; but that much they do faintly admit. Broadly speaking, the man in the street will generally say that life insurance is a good thing. Concretely speaking, when he comes face to face with the fact that it has great accumulations of money, he acts as though he thought it were a bad thing.

And yet, I thoroughly believe that we are making progress. There are two principal reasons why I think so; the first is that the day of strike legislation is gone and gone forever. This dates from the moral upheaval which perhaps found its most definite form in the insurance investigation in the State of New York in 1905-6. It is easy to be wise after the event, easy now to condemn the men who, in most instances at least,



dickered with the blackmailing legislator from the best of motives and from a desire to protect the interests of their policy-holders; but that condition has passed, passed not only for life insurance, but, as I see it, for all corporations. The second reason is that when the Income Tax was under discussion in Congress, genuine progress was made. The case was presented as it probably was never presented before to any legislative body in this country. The result is that the tax exacted from life insurance companies under the Corporation Tax law will be materially reduced under the existing Income Tax law. That is progress; and no inconsiderable progress has been made by the several States as well.

Twelve States, within seven years, have reduced taxation on life insurance by percentages varying from one-tenth of one per cent. in Colorado, to one per cent. in Rhode Island. In the same period thirteen States have increased taxation. While, therefore, the States, as a whole, appear not to have made progress, as a matter of fact they have, because prior to seven years ago no State ever made any reduction under any circumstances. That within seven years twelve States should have made reductions is significant, and is rendered more significant by the recent action of the Federal Congress.

But the misunderstanding still exists. That Congressmen and Senators fail to understand the part that life insurance plays in the economy of the state is shown in the text of the Income Tax law as it now stands, and was strikingly shown by the measure in its first draft. It is hardly worth while now to discuss the provisions of the bill as originally presented; it is enough to say that into that first draft some enemy of

responsible life insurance had injected an unusual amount of venom. Who that enemy was I do not know, although he probably was not a member of either House. But even now the bill clearly shows this lack of understanding, this fear of accumulated money, this disposition to put a penalty upon success.

The bill, for example, exempts all fraternal, beneficial and religious orders. Why? Ostensibly because they are mutual. But is that the real reason? They are no more mutual than certain well-known life companies, and broadly speaking no more mutual than the so-called stock companies. But they accumulate little money, they present the plea of poverty; the successful companies accumulate money and do not present the plea of poverty. It is true that these orders are unscientifically founded, that they are to a large degree irresponsible, that their contracts cannot be depended on, that their record through a period of time is one of failure and financial default, social inefficiency and general incompetence; but they have the seeming virtue of poverty. On the other hand, it is true that the responsible life companies are dependable, that their contracts are as certain as anything in human society, that what they agree to do they do, and the extent of what they beneficently do is almost beyond calculation; but in doing it and in order that they may do it, they commit the offence—or what is seemingly an offence—of having large accumulations of money. Moreover they never make the plea of poverty. So the inefficient and the irresponsible go untaxed; the efficient and the responsible are taxed. The feeble attempt at democracy is encouraged; the effective achievement of real democracy is discouraged.

And yet I insist that we have progressed. During the recent discussion of the Income Tax law Congress really responded to the plea of the companies. Most of us presented arguments; which arguments went home it is not easy to say. That some of them went home is certain. It may not be out of order for me to repeat in substance some of the arguments which I used with the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and, so far as I was allowed, with the Sub-Committee of that body.

I called the Committee's attention to the socially inefficient, what we call the dependent class, and reviewed some of the causes which constantly swell the ranks of that class. That one of the great problems confronting every statesman is how to provide through taxation for the support of this class was a matter that I did not need to emphasize. My plea for life insurance was that beyond every other organized force in human society it helps the state and aids the statesman by keeping people out of the dependent class; and if we can successfully establish a social program which keeps people from becoming dependent, a great problem in statecraft will speedily become simplified. We pay to war pensioners over \$165,000,000 a year, every dollar of which is raised by taxation. The life companies pay twice that sum annually in cash to beneficiaries and policy-holders, every dollar of which is raised by private taxation. Pensions are remedial. Life insurance is preventive. Pensions are the price the people pay in order to soften the pitiful after effects of a conflict too hideous to be ameliorated when in progress. The proceeds of life insurance are provided by the people to protect the defenceless, to educate the

young, to open the door of opportunity. But it is a tax, and to tax it is to commit the economic barbarism of levying a tax on a tax.

This was the argument which I sought to drive home. It seems to me it is the consideration which must appeal to every intelligent statesman. If that be a fact, if life insurance in the great interplay of the forces involved in our sociology is direct, powerful and efficient in keeping people out of the dependent class, should it, beyond the cost of administration, be taxed at all? Should it not rather be encouraged—encouraged as an enterprise which in the long run solves the problem of taxation by reducing the burdens on society which ultimately find expression in terms of taxation?

In knowledge of the economic meaning and value of life insurance, we are far behind most of the enlightened countries of the world. I happen to be associated with a company which does business with substantially all the civilized countries of the globe. In only a few are we taxed in the same way that we are taxed in the United States. I refrain from naming those countries because the catalogue might appear invidious. In most of the great countries of Europe, whenever a tax is laid upon premiums it is assessed directly against the policy-holder and turned over to the government. This has at least the virtue of directness and the policy-holder knows what the government is doing. A great objection to our system is its indirection. Few policy-holders know that they are being mulcted by the government. In France, Spain, Denmark, Germany and Russia, the premium tax is for the maintenance of the Insurance Department and substantially nothing more. In Great Britain the tax that the

company pays is about one-fourteenth of the average rate in the United States. In Germany the rate is about one-twentieth of the rate exacted in the United States.

But that is not the whole story. In Great Britain and Germany the government not only refrains from laying more than a nominal tax upon life insurance when voluntarily taken, but they compel certain classes to insure against death, accidents and sickness, and provide at the public charge for old age pensions. The cost of this is assessed partly on the insured, partly upon the employer, and partly upon public funds. The attitude of these governments toward the idea of life insurance is so far in advance of the attitude maintained by our various legislatures that the contrast is painful. They have learned what we must learn; they have learned under autocratic forms of government what we are learning very slowly under a democratic form of government.

I have said that we are making progress. I wish I could say that we shall ultimately get justice under the supervision to which all insurance is now subjected. What would the attainment of justice in taxation involve? It would mean that forty-eight separate State legislatures and the legislatures of all the Territories, as well as the Congress of the United States, must reduce taxation on insurance of all kinds to a basis which would represent merely the cost of efficient state administration. It would mean the surrender of over \$16,000,000 in annual revenue. Some of you may believe that can be done; I am frank to say that I do not.

And yet I believe we shall ultimately get justice. Europe has learned the lesson; but the people did not



learn the lesson and then enforce it; the lesson was first learned by authority. The value of life insurance was first appreciated in Europe and is being imposed on the people, by authority. The one great authority in the United States which can enforce justice is the Federal Supreme Court.

That Court went wrong economically in 1869 in the case of *Paul vs. Virginia*. It has generally been assumed, in that case, and in some subsequent cases where the doctrine of that case was reaffirmed, that the Court irrevocably declared insurance in all its forms and however practiced not to be commerce. The language used in some later decisions, however, implies that the decision then made applied only to insurance as ordinarily practiced, and later writers have repeatedly intimated that in the case of *Paul vs. Virginia* the Supreme Court has not disposed of the whole subject of insurance nor settled the question as to whether or not it is commerce as practiced now, especially in life insurance. The practical effect of that decision, however, was to leave the whole matter to the tender mercies of the States and they are taking out of insurance as a whole annually about \$17,500,000. To expect the States voluntarily to give that up is to expect too much. You might as well expect the beneficiary of a monopoly voluntarily to come forward and renounce his privileges. Human nature is not made that way.

What the Supreme Court of the United States may do when insurance and especially life insurance as it is now practiced is fully presented and discussed, is another matter. Good lawyers believe that if the Supreme Court should enter a decree declaring that



insurance and especially life insurance as now practiced is commerce, it would simply be recognizing what has always been true, and would not be reversing the controlling case of *Paul vs. Virginia*. The effect of such an opinion would be magical. I firmly believe that sooner or later such an opinion must be rendered.

When that times comes not only will the great body of this taxation fall away, but an opportunity will be created for the expansion of a great democratic idea, one which applies the principles of democracy to labor and the products of labor, to society and the problems of society, as effectually as manhood suffrage, in theory at least, enforces the rights of humanity in the processes of a democratic government. Through the expansion of that idea, under the control of one central authority as against some fifty authorities which now control, we shall hasten enormously the time when the people will understand that a life insurance company is indeed a pure democracy, that it is a brother to all who have long sought some process by which the sovereignty of the individual may be established, and at the same time the immeasurable strength of men working together may be realized.

## AN OPEN LETTER

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TO THE COMMISSIONER OF  
THE WORLD'S INSURANCE CONGRESS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
NEW YORK, MAY 15, 1914

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May 15, 1914.

Mr. W. L. HATHAWAY,  
Commissioner, World's Insurance Congress,  
San Francisco, California.

**D**EAR SIR: San Francisco is one of the necessary cities of the world, but that the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 is to be held within her gates is attributable in very large measure to insurance and its singular service.

I do not say that San Francisco would not have been rebuilt in any event, but the difference between San Francisco as it is and San Francisco as it would have been if insurance had not almost immediately provided its stricken people with \$190,000,000 after calamity fell, is something so considerable that, while we may not exactly measure it, everybody must recognize it. Of this \$190,000,000 nearly \$60,000,000 came from across the Atlantic. In other words, the foundations of insurance were wider than the nation, wider than the continent, and the means thus provided for reconstructing San Francisco were adequate because of a substantially unrestricted operation of the insurance idea.

No idea, therefore, of the many which will be discussed and advanced during this Exposition will so well harmonize with its environment as insurance.

A great fact with which the coming World's Insurance Congress will be faced—indeed the greatest fact—is that insurance of all types in the United States is seriously menaced at the present time by conflicting and hostile governmental regulations which threaten—indeed have already begun—to impair its usefulness.

We all know that the Constitution of the United States was the outgrowth of commercial necessity. The original colonies did not form the Union because they wanted to. In commercial matters they hated each other cordially. After they had won independence, they indulged in acts of commercial reprisal which seem to us at this distance almost unbelievable. In order to vent their spleen, some of the colonies discriminated in favor of European nations as against their sister colonies. The menace of outside interference finally became so real and the danger so imminent that the colonies were compelled to put aside some of their animosities in order to get together for the common defence. The Constitution of the United States adopted in 1789 was the result of this movement. If at that time the people of the various colonies had understood how flexible the instrument was, how nationality would spring up under it, how the central government would gradually develop a real sovereignty in place of the spurious sovereignty with which they deluded themselves—they would not have adopted it.

The notion that the colonies were severally sovereign—which was never true—survived the birth of the new nation and has plagued it ever since. Nationality has

slowly but surely evolved in the intervening years, but the old prejudices and the old animosities have steadily fought that development.

Chief Justice Marshall had a clear vision of nationality and in some of his great decisions did as much to give the Constitution its present meaning as the men who fashioned it in that immortal convention in Philadelphia. Marshall's definition of the relation between the general government and the States was substantially this:

"The action of the general government should be applied to all the external concerns of the nation, and *to those internal concerns which affect the States generally*; while to the States is reserved the control of those matters which are completely within a particular State, which do not affect other States, and with which it is not necessary to interfere for the purpose of executing some of the general powers of government."

If the Supreme Court had adhered to that doctrine, the conditions which threaten the usefulness and efficiency of all kinds of insurance would not to-day exist, but unfortunately in 1868 the Court fell into a great economic error in declaring that insurance was not commerce. It repeated the error, as Courts are all prone to do, from time to time; but as the question in its modern relations, had never been fully presented to the Court, it was hoped when a fresh case, involving no other issue, was presented, the Court might—as it has done many times in other matters—reverse its earlier decisions and declare, as the interests of the public clearly demand, that insurance is commerce. Those who hoped for that result perhaps overlooked

the force of inertia. They did not properly appreciate the restraining power of established practices and accumulated precedents. If insurance were declared to be commerce, down would go the whole fabric of State supervision, and away would go something like \$17,000,000 or \$18,000,000 taken annually by politics from the prudent people who through insurance protect their business and their families. Supervision by forty-eight separate States involves political patronage and great political power. To annihilate by a single decree a system so entrenched required courage of the highest order. When the issue was at last squarely made up two of the Court faced the facts and stood for the doctrine (*N. Y. Life Ins. Co. vs. Deer Lodge County, Montana*) that insurance is commerce; but the majority adhered to the precedents and by so doing shut the door to any relief under the commerce clause of the Constitution as it now stands.

This was a heavy blow to insurance, and served to emphasize an increasing peril. To be supervised by forty-eight separate masters, each of whom claims substantial control over all transactions wherever had, means, for that business, a recurrence of the hostilities, the animosities and the commercial impotence which menaced the colonies prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

Under such conditions it is rather remarkable that companies were able, up to within a few years, to comply with the conflicting requirements of all these masters and do business in all the States. Some seven years ago, substantially all the life companies were driven out of Texas because of drastic, local legislation. Since that time fire companies have had serious trou-

bles in Missouri and are now having great difficulties in Kentucky.

With our highest Court explicitly denying to the Federal government any jurisdiction whatever over insurance (except the power to tax), the notable thing is not that we are now having trouble but that we did not have it earlier.

Insurance long ago began an agitation looking toward an amendment to the Constitution,—an amendment which would clearly place amongst the enumerated powers of Congress the authority to control insurance within the States, Territories and possessions of the United States. Since the Supreme Court has again and finally declared that insurance is not commerce, the agitation has been renewed.

The agitation has taken on new life because of a decision by the Supreme Court, handed down recently, in which a statute of Kansas is upheld which gives the Superintendent of Insurance of that State authority to fix fire insurance rates. Of course if the Legislature of Kansas can fix fire insurance rates, it can fix life insurance rates, and the rates for every type of insurance. Indeed, one of the Justices, in dissenting, said of the opinion, that it

“\* \* \* is not a mere entering wedge, but reaches the end from the beginning and announces a principle which points inevitably to the conclusion that the price of every article sold and the price of every service offered can be regulated by statute.”

Insurance, therefore, finds itself in this position:

It seeks to do business in all the States; indeed it must if it works efficiently and successfully.



The basis of the structure must be broad,—broader, much broader than any State, broader than any half dozen States; indeed added strength comes if the basis is broader than any nation.

But it is told by the Supreme Court, first, that it can operate in the various States only by their permission, and on such terms as they severally establish; and, second, that, operating in that fashion, it is subject not merely to regulation in the ordinary meaning of that word, but to the exercise of an authority which may fix the price at which it shall sell its wares—in other words, to the same authority under which a person's property may be taken for the public good.

To the doctrine that States may fix insurance rates two Justices dissented strongly, and as evidence that the insurance contract had always been considered a private contract and not impressed with any public necessity, they cited the fact that no State had earlier attempted to exercise such authority. The distinguished dissenters overlooked the fact that the State of Wisconsin some years ago fixed a maximum basis for the premiums of life insurance, not only for that State but incidentally and necessarily for all the States. For a life insurance company to charge a different rate in different States would be so impracticable that business would be impossible. The dissenting Justices overlooked this precedent because it has not since happened that any other State has been moved to do a similar thing, and no test of the validity of the statute has been made. But since the Wisconsin statute was passed, life insurance has been keenly alive to what would happen if other States

should take like action. Our highest Court now says that all the States have authority so to act.

In these circumstances insurance is as certainly menaced by the animosities inevitably and always provoked by the doctrine of States' Rights as the commerce of the colonies was before the birth of the nation. Relief must be had. The great problem before all insurance is:

Along what lines shall relief be sought?

Encouraged by the dissent in the *Deer Lodge* case, many strong men believe that if Congress could be induced to pass a statute taking charge of insurance when it involves the citizens of more than one State, the Supreme Court—notwithstanding its earlier decisions—would sustain such a statute. In other words, it is one thing for the Court to pass on an abstraction and another to pass upon a Federal statute. Two of the Court in passing on an abstraction said that insurance is commerce. It is altogether probable that others hesitated, and that hesitation would have been resolved in favor of the co-ordinate branch of government if that co-ordinate branch, in the exercise of its discretion, had assumed control of insurance.

But upon the whole and in order to reach a conclusion that will be unequivocal, insurance opinion rather leans toward an effort to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution which will specifically put all insurance done in an interstate way under the control of Congress.

In justifying the Court's action in upholding the validity of the Kansas statute, Mr. Justice McKenna draws a striking picture of the character and usefulness of fire insurance, seeking to drive home its great im-

portance and enforce its public relations. His word painting may or may not justify the doctrine that a State may fix rates, but it clearly proves that if any power is to fix rates in this country, it must be the Federal power and not the power of the separate States. He says:

“The effect of insurance—indeed, it has been said its fundamental object—is to distribute the loss over as wide an area as possible. In other words, the loss is spread over the country, the disaster to an individual is shared by many, the disaster to a community is shared by other communities; great catastrophes are thereby lessened, and, it may be, repaired. In assimilation of insurance to a tax, the companies have been said to be the mere machinery by which the inevitable losses by fire are distributed so as to fall as lightly as possible on the public at large, the body of the insured, not the companies, paying the tax. Their efficiency, therefore, and solvency are of great concern. The other objects, direct and indirect, of insurance we need not mention. Indeed, it may be enough to say, without stating other effects of insurance, that a large part of the country’s wealth, subject to uncertainty of loss through fire, is protected by insurance. This demonstrates the interest of the public in it and we need not dispute with the economists that this is the result of the “substitution of certain for uncertain loss” or the diffusion of positive loss over a large group of persons, as we have already said to be certainly one of its effects. We can see, therefore, how it has come to be considered a matter of public concern to regulate it, and, governmental insurance has its advocates and even examples. Contracts of insurance, therefore, have greater public consequence than contracts between individuals to do or not to do a particular thing whose effect stops with the individuals.”

The distinguished Justice, in this impressive description of the service to business and society rendered by fire insurance, described at the same time the service and the nature of every considerable kind of insurance; but he apparently did not perceive that what he described existed and was being justified only because the State powers, which the Court then confirmed, had not hitherto been exercised. The Justice, in other words, based his decree on the existence of a service and a relation which will hereafter be gravely limited and embarrassed, if not largely destroyed, by that self-same decree. If the States had from the beginning exercised the rate-making power, in addition to current regulations, we should now have in this country no great fire insurance companies, no great life insurance companies, no great fidelity or surety companies,—just as we should now not be a nation if the Confederation had not been abandoned and the Union created.

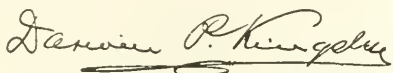
Where the exercise of a named authority will certainly diminish, if not substantially destroy, the matter on which it operates, either the thing to be so governed is not entirely useful or the authority to be so exercised is not entirely wholesome. For our highest Court to find in the wide usefulness of an idea warrant for the confirmation of an authority which will destroy that usefulness is a curious judicial development. The majority opinion leaves no doubt as to the entire usefulness of insurance, while the strong minority opinion leaves no doubt as to the unwholesome character of an authority which will establish forty-eight separate rate-making powers.

What other thing, therefore, so distinctive, what other topic so vital, what other matter so certainly related to the future of business can your coming Congress so well deal with?

Merely to meet and discuss old topics—such as management and taxation—will have a limited interest. To seize boldly on this situation, to speak in no uncertain tones with regard to it, to pledge, so far as you properly can, all the powers of insurance in its various forms and through all its vast organization to a campaign in favor of a Constitutional amendment of the character indicated, would be at once an act of leadership and of statesmanship.

I commend such action to your careful consideration.

Yours truly,


  
President.

## THE SIN OF THE CHURCH

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DELIVERED AT A DINNER TO  
RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, BISHOP OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
AS PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH PENSION FUND OF THE PROTESTANT  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK,  
FEBRUARY 5, 1917

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O-NIGHT I shall shake the spreading chestnut tree very gently, only enough to protest that I am not qualified to speak here because my business is life insurance and that isn't the kind of insurance that naturally interests a gathering of churchmen.

I was persuaded to accept your invitation because I hold that business men should encourage every evidence that a sense of business and business sense are germinating in the Church.

When the Church, faced with a problem of salvation, stops discussing the mysterious ways of Providence and turns to the Actuary, a new era is clearly dawning. If this goes on the business man will begin to go to church again.

The problem this Committee is seeking to solve is a problem in salvation,—nothing less. But in this case the one ostensibly to be saved is not a sinner. This creates sufficient confusion to lift the whole question into the realm of theology. To bring salvation to one who is not a sinner is of course foolishness to the dogmatic mind. At first blush the puzzle is as com-



plex as the one St. Thomas Aquinas attacked when he sought to Christianize Aristotle.

It is so natural and so easy for the Churchman to charge everything to sin and locate the sinner! As a dogmatist that is his chief business. Faced with a problem in salvation we may safely agree with the dogmatist and assume that sin has been committed by someone. If then those to be saved are not sinners, who are?

Directly stated the situation is this: Certain devoted and loyal servants have grown old. If that be a fault, then are we all damned, or soon will be. They have grown old and in addition have not now the wherewithal to live. That rasps on our nerves and disturbs our complacency. Why have they not the wherewithal to live? What have they been doing? Who controlled their productive years? They have worked hard enough and long enough and faithfully enough and yet they are in a parlous state. Under the conditions which hedge them about could they as a body have put aside something for their old age? We know they could not. Where then does the fault lie? As good dogmatists if we acquit them we must damn somebody. When we acquit them—as we must and do—we automatically point out the sinner.

The man who expiates a sin is always and properly humble. He is paying a debt, making up a deficit, covering a default. He emerges from his closet strengthened in his soul but not boastful.

This Fund of \$5,000,000 primarily pays a debt, makes up a deficit, covers in part a default. It is a fund for the future protection of servants, already old, from whom the Church has received an immeasurable

service and to whom the Church has hitherto financially defaulted; it is all that and something finer—it is in its spirit and purpose a moral offering to be placed on the altar of the God of Eternal Justice in the hope that thereby the Church may be purged of a great sin. From her closet the Church emerges to-night not boastful, but nevertheless with uplifted and shining face.

When Church and State were finally separated in this country—and that didn't happen until Congregationalism ceased to be statute law in Massachusetts—the responsibility of the State toward the Preacher naturally disappeared along with its controlling authority.

Unable longer to tell a Priest or Preacher what he should say or what he should believe, the State naturally lost interest in how he lived or whether he lived at all. It is true that the State still exercises a paternal discretion, under which it neglects to levy and collect taxes on some very valuable real estate which you own, but that beneficent attitude is justified on the ground that no one can imagine how wicked we would all be but for your presence amongst us. Moreover it is not so difficult beneficially to tickle the public purse if you do it negatively. The State is sometimes willing to forgive if it is thereby relieved from paying out the coin of the realm. In other words the State may forgive some of your taxes but it will never pay your pensions.

This Church was caught up in the enthusiasm for individual liberty which was crystallized into Constitutional form in Philadelphia in the Summer of 1787. In order that no Church should indulge in illusory

hopes the people in the first amendment to the Constitution denied to Congress the right to make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Under the doctrine of individual liberty the citizen and especially the citizen in business was of necessity projected into a struggle about as merciless as a charge on the field of battle. He might emerge a leader or a cripple, or he might not emerge at all. That was his lookout. It still is. The Priest without the business man's freedom had substantially to emulate the business man's example. There was however this difference. The business man could go in or not as he saw fit. If he was knocked out he could begin again. He could fail and "come back" as we put it. Not so with the Preacher or the Priest. He could not "come back". The Church invited him in; the Church used him, demanding all his time; the Church with the authority of the apostolic succession back of it sent him hither and yon, and when smitten by failure or age he turned to her for protection she denied the responsibility that should always go with such authority. That has been her great sin.

Business began to see its duty in this matter long ago: partly from pressure applied by labor, partly from humanitarian impulses, but chiefly from business considerations. Nearly every great business enterprise in this country long since adopted some plan which recognized an obligation not expressed or expressible in the terms of hiring. Business soon discovered that recognition of this obligation was not only sound socially and morally but that it paid substantial dividends.

The Church lagged behind, as it usually does. There is still a Methodist Church North and a Methodist Church South, although the Civil War ended fifty years ago and its bitternesses are largely forgotten by the people. The reproach involved in that reflection does not apply to the Protestant Episcopal Church, but as a historic fact it had a narrow escape. Substantially every American Protestant and Anglican Church has in its neglect of its aged servants shamed the faith of Cardinal Wolsey, who when trapped by his ambitions and about to fall from power is made by Shakespeare to say:

“\* \* \* \* \* my robe  
 And my integrity to Heaven is all  
 I dare now call my own. O Cromwell! Cromwell!  
 Had I but served my God with half the zeal  
 I served my King, He would not in mine age  
 Have left me naked to mine enemies.”

Whether Wolsey believed that the State which was rejecting him as a Minister would take care of him as a Bishop (as it did) or whether his words expressed a general faith in Providence is not material. No Priest here can get any help from the State in his old age, help from the Church has been very unreliable, and it is safe to assume that the majority of aged Priests having thoroughly tried out what is loosely called Providence, will gladly welcome the Pension Fund as a material improvement on that. Hitherto his robe and his integrity to Heaven have indeed been all the aged Priest dared call his own.

This is one of the few considerable countries in the world where there is real religious freedom. But Priests grow old just as quickly here as they do in

countries where the State makes provision for their declining years; they break from work and worry as readily; they devote their lives to the Church as unselfishly. In its willingness to take to the full the benefits of freedom and in its neglect to assume the responsibilities which authority previously carried, the Church has done only what every American citizen has been doing since the foundation of the government. In that respect it has imitated the morals of business and has imitated them badly. In some particulars it has not responded to the moral standards of business, and even the great achievement we celebrate to-night leaves something still undone. Neither in his age nor in his youth has the Church put the Priest in the proper attitude before the public. You have sent him into a competitive world, where men must be men to win the respect of men, and you have made it almost impossible for him to win and hold that respect; I mean the respect of men not already bound to him by some Church connection.

Naturally our general public is disposed to judge the Priest by the ordinary standards of business and the Church makes it difficult for him to rise to that standard. It still allows him to win the contempt of the unthinking by accepting railroad tickets intended for children, and a rake-off on goods bought, which is saved from being graft because it is supposed in some mysterious way to be justified. You have forced your Priests to seem something less than responsible men, and when they have earned the lack of respect which not infrequently has emptied your pews and forced their resignations, you have shown that whatever the source of Wolsey's faith he was wrong, because after

service that was zealous to a degree these servants in their age have been left naked to their enemies.

This movement to create a fund with which to right in part the wrong done these aged and devoted servants is a statesman-like undertaking. When consummated it will immediately make these men stronger,—stronger in their own consciousness and stronger before the public. Apart from its power to meet what has always been a just obligation it will bring its best results in the increased respect with which all thoughtful men will hereafter regard the Church itself.

William Lawrence is a great Bishop; but I consider him far greater as a statesman. This Pension Fund morally is a constructive, soul-healing undertaking; it will powerfully support your sermons and your services. It commands respect because it will restore and re-establish the responsibility which the State abandoned and which you did not assume when Church and State happily parted company.

The statesman who conceived this plan for discharging a debt due to men who are finishing their labors will doubtless later on propose another plan which will appeal to similar men who are about to begin their labors; a plan which will attract the young and the strong, men who in the relentless competition of American life will win and at all times keep the respect of other strong men.

Until I had some personal experience as a Vestryman I had no idea of the helplessness of the aged clergy, no idea of the wickedness of what I call the sin of the Church. But now the Protestant Episcopal Church is about to expiate her sin.



Like Sir Launfal she went out in shining armor in Quest of the Grail and seeing a leper at her gates she

“\* \* \* \* \* tossed him a piece of gold.”

Returning like Sir Launfal after many and vain wanderings she has met the leper again. To-night she does not toss him a piece of gold, she divides a crust with him and gives him to drink from a wooden bowl. The light that Sir Launfal then saw now shines in the Soul of this Church and the voice that Sir Launfal heard is ringing in her ears. Lowell puts it thus:

“A light shone round about the place  
The leper no longer crouched by his side  
But stood before him glorified.

\* \* \* \* \*

And the voice that was calmer than silence said:

‘Lo it is I, be not afraid!

In many climes, without avail,  
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail:  
Behold it is here,—this cup which thou  
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;  
This crust is my body broken for thee,  
This water His blood that died on the tree;  
The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,  
In whatso we share with another’s need;  
Not what we give, but what we share,—  
For the gift without the giver is bare;  
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—  
Himself, his hungering neighbor and Me.’”

# THE RELATION BETWEEN AMERICAN LIFE INSURANCE AND AMERICAN RAILROADS

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REMARKS BEFORE THE  
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., IN  
BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF OWNERS  
OF RAILROAD SECURITIES, JUNE 8, 1917

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GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMISSION:

The Life Companies of the United States have a total of what we call "outstanding insurance"—that is the face of their promises to pay—aggregating \$25,000,000,000.

At their face these contracts considerably exceed the present bonded debt of Great Britain, they are equal to about one-eighth the present estimated wealth of this Nation. The integrity of the enterprise therefore is a matter of capital importance. Because the investments of this enterprise in Railroad securities are now so large its problems can be complicated and its efficiency powerfully influenced by the future prosperity or otherwise of the properties you supervise and regulate.

To show how profoundly the future of American Life Insurance may be affected by the future prosperity or otherwise of American Railroads it is not enough merely to point to the great totals of Railroad securities held by the Life Companies. The total as of January 1, 1916, is so large, however, approximating at

book value \$1,583,000,000 (of which stocks amount to \$39,000,000), that it requires no expert knowledge to recognize a vital relation here, viewing these investments merely as ordinary investments.

But the relation between these two great enterprises has an importance and carries an obligation which a mere statement of the gross investment does not convey. In order to show this, I shall have to state briefly what the Life Insurance contract is, how it has to be made, and its relation to these securities: Life Insurance contracts are in reality a type of serial non-interest bearing bonds. They mature daily through drawings. The drawing is done by Death, but the process is essentially the same as that followed in serial bond issues where the drawings are made from an urn. Bonds of States, Counties and Municipalities, running for a definite period, or due serially, usually have a sinking fund provision, and the sinking fund and interest are provided for by public taxation. These life insurance bonds also have a sinking fund provision, a very strict one, and these provisions are also met by taxation, by private taxation.

The Life Insurance Premium, outside the factor which represents endowment insurance, is a tax as clearly and unequivocally as that form of contribution to the public exchequer which we call the Income Tax. Here, however, the analogy between Government bonds and the Life Insurance contract ends.

These civic subdivisions of the nation have practically unlimited capacity to meet their bond obligations through taxation. If the rate of tax fails to produce the annual interest charge and the proper annual addition to sinking funds, the rate can be raised

and new sources of revenue created through new and different taxation. Not so with the Life Companies. Their obligations are fixed except as they are increased by forces beyond their control while their power to tax is strictly limited. They are obliged to state in advance in contracts that may mature to-morrow or in sixty years or more, just what the purchaser is to pay yearly, or half-yearly, or even weekly. That figure cannot under any circumstances be increased, not even in times of war. Within recent weeks hundreds of inquiries have come to the Home Offices of the Companies asking whether the Companies would now put a war clause in outstanding policies. The Companies cannot cross a "t" or dot an "i" in contracts outstanding. The extra mortality of war and the increased cost of labor and supplies must be covered by the premiums fixed when the contracts were made.

In fixing this premium the Life Companies have to make very broad and far-reaching assumptions as to what will happen in the world of business to-morrow and the next day and so on during the life of the contracts, some of which will run for many years. In fixing the annual charge the Companies first adopt a table of mortality. That with relative definiteness declares how many of these bonds will be drawn yearly, and experience now pretty conclusively shows that these maturities do not even in war-times exceed the provisions of the mortality tables. These are matters with which we have nothing to do here, and are stated because they are a part of the general plan. The mortality tables are now confirmed by vast experience, are used by all the Companies, and are sound.\*

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\*The recent influenza epidemic perhaps indicates that these tables may yet need revision.

The Companies next assume a rate of interest, and that brings the peculiar relation between the Railroads and the Life Companies directly into this discussion. They assume that the proceeds of these private taxes, or premiums, can be invested to earn a minimum rate of interest through long periods of time. In doing this the Companies are obliged to assume that public faith will be kept and private credit will be sound. Starting with these assumptions it is not difficult for an Actuary to tell just what sums must be set aside annually, if increased by the rate of interest assumed, to provide the funds to redeem these serial maturities. The Companies then add to this percentage for expenses and other contingencies. But the mortality tables show that the number of drawings increases rapidly with advancing age of the bondholder, and as the Companies, in all the types of insurance involved in this discussion, propose to tax the man the same amount annually per \$1,000 at age 80 that was required at age 15, if he entered then, the reserve, or sinking funds, must be sufficient to cover that period of the contract when by reason of increased age the demands on the Companies through maturities outrun the premiums. In short the bondholder in youth pays more than the mortality of youth requires in order to provide funds against the time when on account of age his annual contribution will be inadequate. This explains in part why the reserves of the Companies run into such large figures. But total assets of \$5,700,000,000 against face obligations of \$25,000,000,000 does not look disproportionate even to a layman. The two factors which make it possible for that \$5,700,000,000 ultimately to meet obligations aggregating \$25,000,000,000, are fu-

ture premiums and interest. The report of the Insurance Department of the State of New York at the close of 1915 shows that the Life Companies reporting there, which of course does not include all the Life Companies in the United States, collected in the calendar year \$212,000,000 in interest and dividends, exclusive of rents. Since organization American Life Companies had collected up to the close of 1915, in interest, dividends and rents, over \$3,500,000,000. This is approximately 60% of their present assets. Broadly speaking, it was all necessary to make good the original assumptions as to interest, although there has been always a margin and there always must be.

Here then are two factors which lie at the basis of the structure of Life Insurance, factors that must be cardinal considerations in this discussion:

- 1st. Future obligations that are to be met by a level premium fixed in advance and as against all contingencies.
- 2d. An assumed rate of interest running far into the future.

Of these two, the second, for our discussion to-day, is much the more important because while the Companies cannot in any circumstances raise their premium, or rate of tax, as soon as the bondholder fails to make his annual, or semi-annual, or weekly contribution, the Company's liability on that particular contract changes and it is automatically protected. Not so with the interest factor; that must be earned or the whole structure is threatened. Interest is assumed to be constant on all the money in the sinking fund. No allowance



is made for any default. Acting within the law the reserves of most of the Companies reporting to the New York Department are calculated on the assumption they will earn  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  and the State will compel a Company to cease issuing new contracts whenever its assets do not cover its liabilities, assuming that it will earn  $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ . It would appear that here is margin enough, and that is true if certain other assumptions made by the Companies do not fail. The Companies have to assume not merely the factors that enter into its premium rate, but, equally vital, that securities can always be had so sound and dependable that they will yield the rate of interest assumed and in addition will produce the principal invested whenever desired, or at maturity if bearing a fixed maturity date. The Companies' obligations do not shift with time and circumstance, except as premium payments fail or contracts mature or are surrendered; but its invested funds from which it is largely to meet those liabilities are open to all the assaults that lie in shifting economic conditions. Securities rated by experts as sound to-day are sometimes valueless in a few years. The Life Companies buy and must buy what every careful investor buys. In adopting a level tax, or premium, for long periods the Companies are obliged to assume that through all that time commercial faith will be kept, that sound and necessary enterprises will be fostered by society, *and that the State which so sternly supervises the Companies, so strictly measures their liabilities, and so carefully values their assets, will use the same power to see that the faith that lies back of these securities is also kept.*

In two particulars the state, meaning the Federal Government, and the states, meaning the members of

the Federal Union, have taken action that directly affects the fundamental assumptions of the Companies:

- 1st. Through taxation which weakens the assumptions.
- 2d. Through supervisory bodies like this, having the power to regulate and limit the earnings of public carriers which would strengthen the assumptions.

Consider the matter of taxation. Of course every dollar taken from Life Insurance Companies by the state, or the states, is an expense not covered by the Companies' fundamental assumption and therefore must come out of the loading for contingencies which is also unchangeable or out of other savings which are about as likely to decrease as to increase. It is a tax on a tax, and while I appreciate that this is not a body having to do with taxes, it is a co-ordinate branch of Government and is bound to take cognizance of other Governmental action. These taxes now total \$15,000,000 more or less a year and are steadily rising. Recent legislation has put mutual insurance, which is not a business enterprise at all, has no profits and in the nature of things can have none, in the category with munition makers. Taxation is an increasingly serious factor in the Companies' balance sheets. It is quite within the realm of things possible that this tax will rise to \$30,000,000 a year at no distant date. Against this extraordinary and increasing demand the Companies have no protection. They constantly eat into the margins saved by economies in management, savings in mortality, and savings in interest.

Life Insurance in a word faces increasing obligations which it does not create, which it cannot control. These demands are additional to those named in the life contract itself and must be met from revenues that are substantially fixed. The situation obviously becomes at once extremely uncomfortable if we add to these expenditures any failure in the Companies' fundamental assumptions.

This body has the power to fix the rates charged by the Railroads having to do with Interstate Commerce. The greater part of the investments under discussion was made before your honorable body was granted, or at least before it exercised, its present powers. You therefore inherit a condition which makes the integrity of these 46,000,000 contracts a part of your duty.

*If a denial of the prayer of the roads for an increase in rates at this time will carry the relation between the railroads and the Life Insurance companies into a doubtful zone and even remotely assail the assumptions as to interest which the Companies have made and imperil the capital which they have invested, then we assume that this body is as clearly bound to grant that request in the interest of public faith and commercial integrity as it is bound to end exorbitant or discriminatory charges.*

It is not my part to go into the statistics of this problem. The facts and figures are all before you now. I know no more about that than any other non-railroad man. I am here to reflect, and I think I do reflect, the deliberate judgment of the men who are responsible as Trustees for investments aggregating nearly \$6,000,000,000, of which Railroad securities represent 25%.

I speak directly, and by authority, on behalf of five great Companies which together own 75% of the total railroad holdings of all the Companies. They have steadily lost faith in what was at one time a favorite investment. The per cent. which expresses the relation between their holding of railroad securities and their ledger assets has declined within ten years. In the case of the largest single holder this per cent. in the year 1904 was 55.1% and in 1916 it was 38%.

What conditions explain this attitude?

Into the judgment which has made these investors draw away from Railroad securities the product of three tests or conditions have entered. These are:

The Factor of Safety;

The mean market price of a selected group of bonds;  
and

Defaults.

The Finance or Investing Committees generally apply to a Railroad bond offering, the test of Safety. What is the bond's Factor of Safety? If it is unsatisfactory, the offering is not considered further.

In addition the Companies—most of them I think—periodically apply this test to their entire holdings. Applied through a period of years to the holdings of one Company, the largest single holder of Railroad bonds, the test yields these results:

#### FACTOR OF SAFETY

Close of 1912.....	204 issues...	average factor	73
Close of 1913.....	217 issues...	“ “	70.8
Close of 1914.....	236 issues...	“ “	65.1
Close of 1915.....	238 issues...	“ “	70.7
Close of 1916.....	232 issues...	“ “	81

It is not difficult therefore to understand why this particular Company, which in 1902 invested 117.3% of its entire increase in assets that year in Railroad bonds, invested in long time bonds only  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  of such increase in 1913.

This test runs parallel with what is common knowledge.

Nineteen sixteen is generally known to have been an abnormally good year with nearly all the Roads. The improved net earnings of the year lifted this Company's Factor of Safety nearly sixteen points above 1914.

For a period of years the second test has yielded similar results.

The mean market price of twenty-five selected bond issues declined steadily from 97.25 in 1909 to 86.92 in 1915. The price improved materially in 1916 but is now lower than the mean price of 1915.

By itself a considerable fall in the market price of these bonds may mean little. The earning power of money fluctuates and market prices vary correspondingly. The bonds are bought to yield a rate of interest and are usually carried to maturity. Unless the market price meantime reflects weakness in the security, it is of little importance in the Companies' calculations. But when along with falling market prices and a shrinking Factor of Safety come such defaults as are recorded in the story of the last nine years the attitude of these and other investors is easily understood.

The Directors of a Life Company may have to face problems here before default occurs. Under the laws of New York the Companies must value any particular issue at market, in making its return to the State, whenever the Superintendent of Insurance de-

cides that it is inadequately secured. The difference is charged to profit and loss and increases the cost of insurance for the whole Company to that extent.

On January 1, 1916, the market value of the group of Railroad bonds under consideration was \$107,000,000 below amortized value.

Taking up the third test, we find that within nine years Railroad bonds of a par value of \$844,534,000 have defaulted their interest and that the amount of interest in cumulative default July 1, 1916, was \$82,000,000. The year 1916 seemed to forecast a complete and permanent change in the situation.

But now the Roads—many of them at least—face new and what seem to be even graver problems. Like the increasing taxes on Life Insurance there now comes to the Roads an almost perpendicular raise in the cost of labor, material and equipment, and in addition the as yet indeterminable costs of war.

Recent monthly returns from some of the great systems indicate that the margins of 1916 will not be maintained or approached in 1917. Except in your discretion rates are inflexible as against these rising demands.

The factor of safety which was none too high at the close of 1916 is already receding and will continue to recede unless the Roads have relief. Standing at 65 the Factor applied to these seasoned and carefully selected bonds obviously indicated great danger to Railroad securities as a whole. In the first six months of that year—1914—Railroad bonds aggregating at par over \$291,636,000 defaulted on nearly \$11,000,000 of interest. Some of the defaulting bonds were in the vaults of the Life Companies, but not many.



Look through the Life Companies' sworn reports to the State of New York at the close of 1916 and you will find that they now buy few junior bonds except where the road is paying substantial returns on its stock. The law of New York State no longer allows them to buy stocks or debentures, or collateral trust bonds except under certain conditions. They confine themselves, and largely from choice, to underlying bonds, which of course means that in any new financing of the Roads the old market for the securities which represent that financing, is gone. It does not take a railroad expert to understand that an equipment trust to-day representing 80% of cost, when that cost is nearly twice what it was a few years ago is not a good investment unless it appears that there has been a corresponding increase in the earning power of the equipment itself. An inevitable question springing from that conclusion is: What effect will the present startling advance in cost not only of equipment, but of labor and coal and other items of upkeep have on the outstanding securities of the Roads unless their rates which are now about as rigid as Life Insurance premiums, can be modified to meet changed or emergency conditions?

If a Road is to serve the country effectively it must be able to finance itself. To sell its securities to Life Insurance Companies hereafter a Railroad must show that its revenues are sufficient to cover depreciation, upkeep, interest, amortization, and a reasonable surplus after paying the stockholder a fair return on his money. When the present holdings of the Life Companies were purchased, barring possibly the underlying obligations of some Roads, these conditions gen-

erally existed. What is the condition now? How many roads can finance themselves to any considerable extent through the sale of stock? How many indeed from their present indicated net earnings will be able to pay any return to stockholders in 1918 if the properties are well kept up?

Having spoken so frankly, it seems wise, to avoid misunderstanding, that I should say a word more. The facts are as I have stated them, but while, unless remedied, they threaten loss to the Companies they do not threaten disaster. It is in part to avoid the future possibility of that I have spoken so freely to-day. These Companies for which I speak not only seek safety but as they furnish this mutual protection at cost they aim to reach the lowest net cost. That they are bound to do. Every million dollars paid in taxes, every million dollars in defaulted interest, every million dollars shrinkage in principal, goes into profit and loss and by that much increases the cost of insurance.

Life Insurance Directors do not expect to invest billions and keep them invested for long periods without some losses. But they do believe that when the Federal Government placed—and properly placed—in your hands the power to regulate and supervise these Roads and the power to fix their rates, it assumed a responsibility toward the people we serve, so clear and compelling that our losses in this group of securities ought to be less than in any other group of securities outside Government and State bonds.

One word on the strictly human side.

I speak for about 33,000,000 investors; and here again we must discriminate. Ninety per cent. of that vast number are in such financial condition that they

do not know that they have a dollar invested in anything. Acting separately few of that great number would to-day own or have an interest in any security. In its usual significance therefore the word "investor" does not apply to any of these people. The real investor has money otherwise idle; he buys a bond, or shares of stock, or a farm, or an interest in a business. He invests and takes the risk of gain or loss. These 33,000,000 people (even those having means) do nothing of that kind when they insure their lives. They mutually agree to submit to a tax for a definite social purpose; they are not seeking profits; they are not in business; they are mutually capitalizing the future earning power of their lives, the capital to become available as drawings are made by the grim laws of mortality. To do that scientifically these reserves are necessary and the reserves must be invested, but the men who pay the taxes agreed to are scarcely more investors than are the men who donate funds to colleges, hospitals and orphan asylums. Such funds must be invested, but the beneficiaries of these donations are not investors unless perchance a man who founds a hospital and goes there to die may be called an investor. The insured pays his tax because of the strong probability that his family otherwise may be left defenceless. The man who pays the tax wins nothing for himself even if his bond is drawn early—except a sense of self-respect and comfort meantime.

By this device 33,000,000 people have erected a great sociological plant which in turn has become a great investor. They have mobilized the single dollars and the ten cent pieces. They have assembled money otherwise naturally ineffective, unrelated, possibly even

hostile, and thereby, and properly as a by-product, they now indirectly own one-tenth of all the financial obligations of all the Railroads; they have helped to build up great cities through mortgage loans; they have financed public improvements through municipal bonds; they have financed the farmer through farm loans; and are now about to pour millions into the United States Treasury in the purchase of Government bonds.

These 33,000,000 people have trusted the Directors of their enterprises completely. That is a very important economic fact. That faith must be kept. The Directors in turn have founded their structure on certain assumptions that are absolutely sound, if public faith is kept.

I am here, therefore, not to plead for the private investor, although I know of no good reason why an honest investor, a holder of Railroad bonds, even a holder of Railroad stocks, is not entitled to a fair return on a naturally sound investment.

The people for whom I speak had no money to invest, sought no investment, and, as insurants, have now no title to any specific bond or share of stock. They have contractual rights and that is all.

Having been granted and having assumed the power to regulate these public carriers and to fix their rates, it follows that in all cases where Insurance Directors have bought Railroad Securities with sound judgment, your duty to use your power to protect the integrity of these securities is akin at least to the duty of the Government to protect the lives and liberties of the people.

## PRESIDENT KINGSLEY'S STEWARDSHIP

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MEMORANDUM TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
ON THE 10th ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE  
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, JUNE 17, 1917.  
TEN YEARS AGAINST SIXTY-TWO. A SOLID  
FOUNDATION AND A TOWERING  
SUPERSTRUCTURE

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**I**T SEEMS to me appropriate to-day for a number of reasons that, in expressing the appreciation felt by my associate officers and myself over this renewed evidence of your confidence, I should point out some significant facts which have developed during the ten years of the existence of what may be called the present administration.

When this Board ten years ago, within a few days, chose me as President of the New York Life, I reviewed the situation of the Company and of life insurance as I saw it and stated that I believed that size in life insurance would ultimately prove to be an advantage, not merely because size means strength and permanency but size means economy.

On the intervening occasions on which you have re-elected my associates and myself, I have touched on some of these facts so that it will not be necessary to repeat them now. But you will probably be surprised yourselves when I tell you that in fundamentals as much work has been done, and as much has been accomplished, in those ten years as was done and

accomplished in the previous sixty-two years of the Company's life.

Divide the history of the Company into two periods; include in the first the work and the accomplishments from 1845 to 1906 inclusive, and in the second the record and work from 1907 to 1916 inclusive, and we get some rather startling results:

The Company's total receipts from 1845 to 1906 inclusive, were in round figures . . .	\$1,250,000,000
The Company's total receipts from 1907 to 1916 inclusive, were in round figures . . .	1,177,000,000
Total disbursements in the first period . . . .	783,000,000
Total disbursements in the second period . .	768,000,000
Total payments to policy-holders in the first period . . . . .	540,000,000
This includes \$89,000,000 in dividends.	
Total payments to policy-holders in the second period . . . . .	616,000,000
Of which \$120,000,000 were dividends.	
Total expenses and taxes of the Company 1845-1906 inclusive . . . . .	236,000,000
Total expenses and taxes of the Company 1907-1916 inclusive . . . . .	127,000,000
Less in the second period by over \$100,000,000.	
The total of taxes, licenses and fees paid in the first 62 years was . . . . .	12,386,000
The total of taxes, licenses and fees paid in the last ten years was . . . . .	12,697,000
The excess of \$300,000 is accounted for in large part by the constantly increasing rate of taxation.	
At the close of 1906 the ledger assets of the Company at book value (which is the value used for dividends) amounted to . .	466,000,000
The earning power of which was 4.29%.	

That earning power without any serious fluctuation rose up to the close of 1913, fell off a little in 1914 and 1915, and at the close of 1916 stood at 4.54%.

On the first of May, 1917, it was 4.54%.

The ledger assets of the Company on the first of May, 1917, were \$899,000,000, almost exactly double



what they were at the end of sixty-two years, and their earning power was still 4.54%. The difference between the earning power of the Company's assets at the close of 1906 and their earning power at the close of 1916 is exactly one-quarter of one per cent. Applied to the ledger assets of the Company on the first of May, the interest earnings for the year ending May 1, 1918, if that rate is maintained, will be \$2,224,000 more than they would have been at the rate recorded at the close of 1906.

During the past ten years, counting from the beginning of 1907, the Company invested in bonds and in loans on real estate \$461,000,000 to pay an average of 4.81%. In 1913 the investments were \$41,000,000 to pay 5.07%, in 1915 \$36,000,000 to pay 5.13%, and in 1916 \$70,000,000 to pay 5.26%: the largest sum, so far as I can find from our records, ever invested by the Company in a single year, with the largest rate of return, within any time of which we have authentic information.

The rate of mortality in 1916 was 71% of the expected, the lowest rate experienced by the Company since it began the preparation of a gain and loss account about twenty years ago.

During the past ten years the Company has gained from the three great sources of surplus: interest, mortality and loading, as follows:

From interest .....	\$114,000,000
From mortality.....	56,000,000
From loading.....	64,000,000

The gain in the year 1916 was \$30,000,000.

The limitation on new business fixed by the statutes of New York still rested heavily upon us when I was

first elected President, so much so that the outstanding business of the Company, then decreasing, continued to decrease and reached its lowest point in the year 1908. Since then we have succeeded in getting modifications of the law so that for the last half-dozen years we have been able to write all the business we cared to write. The European war cut off about \$35,000,000 new business a year. Notwithstanding all these handicaps, the business paid for in these ten years is one-third of all the business the Company has paid for in seventy-two years. It totals approximately \$2,000,000,000.

A curious fact which has come out from the study of these figures is that the total income of the Company during its existence is just a little less than its present total outstanding insurance. So far as I know there is no natural relation between the two facts, but that the Company has received nearly \$2,500,000,000 since organization and has in securities now less than \$900,000,000 goes far toward answering the not unnatural question that people sometimes ask about what the Company does with all the money.

There are few types of institutions in which money is more fluid and active than in a life insurance company aggressively conducted. The securities in the Company's vault may seem to be, and in fact may be, static in their character. But in the lives of the people throughout the organization of the institution all over the world, the transactions of the Company keep its money through payments to policy-holders, interest and other avenues, in a constant condition of activity. In fact referring to the usefulness of money as a circulating medium, I question whether any money held by

any type of institution is more completely fluid and active. The nearly nine hundred millions in the Company's vault are represented merely by instruments recording obligations and promises to pay. There is never any considerable sum of actual cash in the Company's vaults, and the actual cash in the Company's depositories is only such as is necessary in the process of investment for the Company to maintain itself in a stable condition.

Four days ago I reached my sixtieth year. I have served the Company for nearly twenty-nine years. Vice-President Weeks has served the Company fifty years; Vice-President Buckner, thirty-seven years; Treasurer Shipman, twenty-four years; Second Vice-President McCall, eighteen years; Second Vice-President Buckner, thirty-two years; Secretary Ballard, twenty-four years. Your Executive Officers combined represent two hundred and fourteen years of service.

Time will not be denied, yet none of us concedes that he is old. Serving in so worthy a cause, under such confidence and sympathy as you extend to us not only adds to the joy of service but robs age of its terrors.

On the occasion of my first election as President, I think I stated that I was one of the few men who had had the rare experience of reaching the very height of his ambition. I have enjoyed that peculiar sensation for ten years. It is a sensation that not very many men are ever privileged to feel. That may be because most men are never satisfied, but most men I think would be satisfied with the Presidency of the New York Life.

## MEMORIAL TO MAJOR JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, U. S. R.

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ADOPTED BY THE  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE  
OF NEW YORK, JULY 18, 1918

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HE outstanding quality in the personality of Alexander Hamilton was youth—aggressive, invincible youth.

The outstanding quality that distinguished the personality of John Purroy Mitchel, to whose memory this Minute is a tribute, was youth—youth unafraid, unconquerable.

Dead before thirty-nine, John Purroy Mitchel had lived more than most men whose years span the Biblical measure. His public service, which covered substantially all his adult life, was given almost exclusively to this City, and was so distinguished that it will stand out masterfully in New York's history: he had, in fact, become a national figure. Nevertheless, he was young—younger than his years. There was about him always the spirit of sheer youth. His triumphs were the triumphs of youth. His failures were the failures of youth. He inherited from some great ancestor certain knightly qualities which made him at all times a gallant figure—a personality of which the City was proud.

The war is brought very near to all of us when we realize that the two great Americans who, for us and for New York, spoke so eloquently when Joffre was

our guest, when Balfour was our guest—Joseph H. Choate and John Purroy Mitchel—are both dead: Choate, the old man eloquent; Mitchel, the young man militant.

When Mayor Mitchel spoke at the great dinner given by the City at the Waldorf-Astoria, jointly to the French and British Commissions, did he subconsciously foresee his own tragic end? He said:

“Gentlemen of England and of France: Our President, speaking for every loyal citizen of the United States, has pledged to you the resources of the United States. Money, ships, munitions, food—these things we give you freely and esteem the giving but a light tax upon our unbounded wealth. It is not enough. There lacks the critical contribution of manhood service, and blood sacrifice. This, too, must be ours. Our duty will be done, our debts discharged, our destiny achieved, only when the hosts of American democracy take their place beside the hosts of England and of France, resolved to fight and fight and still to fight, until victory rescues the world from autocracy and barbarism.”

It is not our part to discuss the forces that buffeted John Purroy Mitchel until that July morning when he fell from the sky to instant death. Nothing could break his spirit. To his last breath he was the embodiment of youth; he died doing the work that youth only may undertake. To his last breath he was a patriot; he died in the uniform of a Major. The Fates were kind and granted him the death that heroic men pray for when they go into battle.

He meant and still means something personal to every member of this Chamber. He was for us the militant embodiment of our civic ideals, the splendid expression of our civic pride. We followed him gladly in life. The Chamber was honored by a place in the great procession of soldiers, sailors and citizens which followed his remains to their last resting place.

Death has bereft us and the Nation, but not even death can take from us the inspiration that will always quicken and inspire the citizens of New York when they recall this gentle, fearless, knightly man.

The Chairman of the Committee is hereby directed to make this Minute the subject of a Special Report to the Chamber at its next regular meeting; the Secretary of the Chamber is directed to spread the Minute on the records of the Committee and to send a copy, duly engrossed and attested, to Mrs. Mitchel.



## THE JAPAN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTIONS—DECEMBER 11 1917

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**I**F THE citizens of New York here present had been born in the Middle Ages and by some physical and spiritual miracle had lived through all the intervening centuries and been a part of them, and by some other miracle found themselves now in their sixties, just in the meridian of life, they could perhaps claim to have lived as long, to have seen as much, to be as young, and to be as wise as our two chief guests of honor Ambassador Sato and Baron Megata.

Both of these distinguished representatives of the Japanese Empire were born in feudal times. Their lives have spanned all that lies between medieval conditions and the most modern and up-to-date program. Neither of them can have any personal memory of the arrival of Commodore Perry and the excitement that prevailed the day his ship sailed into Yedo Bay. But both must have very vivid recollections of the end of the Shogunate and of the restoration which made the Mikado the head of the Japanese Empire in fact as well as in theory. They were both in the vigor of young manhood in the troublous days of the seventies, and they witnessed the violent changes of the eighties when Japan with a rush adopted Western ideas, Western dress, Western customs, and indeed any thing and

everything Western. They took part in all the marvelous changes by which Japan quickly emerged from the life of hermit into the activities, the responsibilities and publicities of a great modern nation.

They were, as I understand it, friends and associates of Prince Ito—whose son is a member of this Commission and one of our guests—who so largely drafted the Constitution proclaimed by the Mikado in 1889, whose writings afterwards did so much to interpret it. They have in short been potent influences in that unprecedented evolution which has changed Japan almost within a generation from a narrow seclusiveness, which feared and hated all foreigners, into a broad-visioned, efficient, generous and humane nation.

Facts can be recited very quickly, but the miracle remains unexplained. How did they do it? We are fond of referring to the "unchanging East". We think of the Orient as the land where eternity dwells, where nothing changes. But in Japan an evolution has taken place within thirty years that makes an Anglo-Saxon dizzy. It goes without saying that under our system, controlled by our sources of authority, nothing like this could peacefully happen. If anything approaching it happened, it would be the result of revolution. We adopted our Constitution in 1789. Beyond the twelve amendments which followed speedily afterwards and were mostly agreed on in advance, we did not, except through the amendments adopted in the Civil War, change the text of the Constitution for more than a hundred years.

Again the question arises, How did Japan do all this? I suppose none of us has a very clear knowledge of that. But certain broad facts are obvious. Japan

must have had wise and far-sighted leaders who realized that whether Japan liked it or not, the period of her isolation was past; who saw not only that her hermit-life must be given up but that if she was to be worthy of her genius, Japan must affirmatively take her place as a rival and a competitor of those who were making the modern world. In addition to that it is clear that she must have had a people who were tractable and loyal, who profoundly believed in their leaders, who were willing to follow them in almost anything they did and adopt almost any program they laid down. When however we consider the antiquity of Japan, the deep-seated fear the people had of foreigners, their devotion to the theory, not uncommon amongst all races, that they were the "chosen people", and then when we consider the extent and violence of the change, it must have been true at times that faith in their leaders was strained to the limit. Could any Occidental people have been changed from their condition in the feudal ages to their present condition in a generation? Certainly not. It is not thinkable. It would be easy to point out a hundred reasons why that could not happen. I don't mean by that to say that it couldn't happen because it didn't happen, but it just couldn't have happened. In Japan it did happen, and our chief guests saw it all.

I sometimes wonder how much of the illusion with which Japan viewed the Western world in 1853, when the black hulk of Commodore Perry's steamer and its funnel belching black smoke terrified the Japanese people, has been lost.

It would be a reflection on Japan to say that she did not abandon her old ways and adopt Western ways

because she believed they were better than her own. Of course that was her motive. But facing present day realities Japan must now realize either that she underestimated herself or that she overestimated us,—perhaps a little of both.

In the intervening period she has tried her war strength with at least one great Occidental, or at least semi-Occidental Power. She has pitted the quality of her intellectual powers against the men of the West in many of our Universities and Colleges, and in many of the Universities of Europe; she has developed a degree of generosity and humanity toward her enemies in battle never surpassed by any Anglo-Saxon and utterly beyond the comprehension of the Teuton. She knows to-day that in all these prime essentials, physical, mental and moral, she is the peer of any.

It is the privilege of the Japan Society to have as its guests to-night men who were powerful factors in the whole of this transformation; others who were a creative part of modern Japan only. Our guests were not spectators; they did not stand by and wonder at what was happening. They were amongst the transformers of old Japan, amongst the creators of new Japan.

It is my high privilege now to present one of these two chief guests of honor, a graduate of De Pauw University, barely in his sixties, so old in what he has seen, so young in what he has done, so ancient in his traditions and in his inspirations, so modern in his spirit and in his point of view, the representative in the United States of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, His Excellency,

AMBASSADOR SATO.

The second of these wise and wonderful men into whose life centuries have been packed, is a graduate of Harvard University, and may justly be called the financial and economic creator of Korea. His work in reforming the currency system of Korea was notable; he brought order out of chaos, effective administration and a system of responsible credits out of an appalling condition of inefficiency and graft.

In some respects Baron Megata reminds me of Viscount Ishii, who so lately visited us and left so pleasant and so profound an impression everywhere.

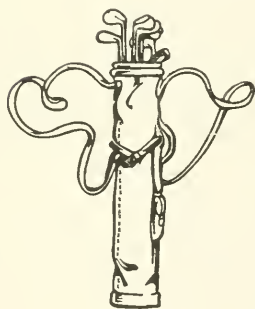
Ladies and Gentlemen—the head of the Japanese Financial Commission, one of the creators of modern Japan,

BARON MEGATA.





WE ARE, TOO, IN THAT OTHER SUNLIGHT  
WHICH FLOODS OUR SOULS  
AND TEACHES US TO  
LAUGH AT TIME





## ON TAKING THE CHAIR AS PRESIDENT OF THE SENIORS' GOLF ASSOCIATION

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DELMONICO'S, NEW YORK, JANUARY 29 1917

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**H**ELLOW PHILOSOPHERS: When the Committee in charge of America's classic golfing event, held annually at Apawamis, looked at the entries in recent years and noticed the swelling totals they must have been reminded of Lincoln's remark about plain people. God must love the seniors because he made so many of them.

To be a senior is not to be old; it is merely to have been longer in service than someone else. To be a member of the Senior Class in college—apart from the dignities and privileges that go with it—is merely evidence that a man is wiser and sounder than the unripe and uneducated bunch that make up the lower classes.

In the great college to which we belong this is the Senior Class. It's a very unusual university—this institution of ours. There are seldom any "dead ones" in it; they matriculate with difficulty.

Most people are apt to think of a certain age—which I will not mention—as the only qualification for membership in this body. That's a very great error. Fools and liars and men with yellow streaks in them

achieve the requisite years, but by a process of self-elimination they never enter here, or if by chance they do, their stay is short, they are plucked early. Above the question of a certain age stand these tests—

Is the candidate a gentleman?

Does he love the smell of the soil?

Has he satisfactorily passed the severe tests applied in the lower forms?

Is he a good fellow?

Is his mind young?

Does the song of the lark make his blood tingle?

Does he stop playing, lean on his putter and smile if a bob-o-link happens to be swaying and singing in the reeds hard by?

Does he instinctively know just what and where the "Fair way" is?

Has he a sound philosophy?

Above everything else does he know that time is a liar?

If he can pass these tests he may be advanced to the dignity of membership in this class and not otherwise.

It is my great honor to-night to have been elected first President of the first properly constituted Senior Class in this great University. I do not need to remind most of you what a signal honor it is and has always been to be President of the Senior Class. But my distinction is unique. This is the first group of this sort of men evolved in a billion or two of years. It took golfers, as such, some four hundred years to evolve you, and it took the Roman Empire, the Dark Ages and the Renaissance to evolve the first golfer. Not until these days in which we live have men developed the keenness of soul that, challenged by the metaphysics of golf,

has made instant counter-challenge, and yearly now sends in deep discussion wandering over the hills and valleys thousands of eager faced men, whose disquisitions make Socrates seem but a piker.

The first grave-digger in Hamlet says that the only "ancient gentlemen" left are "gardeners, ditchers and grave-makers; they hold up Adam's profession". In the construction of a modern golf course the ditcher finds occupation, the grave-maker finds a consolation that is bottomless, the gardener completes and beautifies all. Together they make the Paradise through which wisdom and experience wander. Old Omar was there before us and he would be eligible to membership if he had not so long ago become our Prophet. Listen to him—with no change in the thought—

Here with a little Bread beneath the Bough,  
A high-ball and a book of verse—and Thou  
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—  
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

In the lines of the old Tentmaker I find this toast to you—fellow lovers of the open, fellow golfers, fellow philosophers, fellow seniors:

Ah, my Belovéd, play the game that clears  
To-day of Past Regrets and Future Fears;  
TO-MORROW!—Why To-morrow I may be  
Myself with Yesterday's sev'n thousand years.

## FALSTAFF'S DEFENSE OF AGE

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SENIORS' GOLF ASSOCIATION DINNER,  
APAWAMIS, SEPTEMBER 19, 1917

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**S**ENIORS: I speak not Spanish but plain United States when I thus address you. Seniors! At a time when titles are all about I merely recognize the rank conferred on you, not by age, but by your own philosophy and straight thinking,—I said “thinking”, not driving.

You may very properly insist on this title which discriminates, which affirms, which denies. You confess you are not young; you deny that you are old.

I can think of no more perfect description of the present condition and appearance of this band of sports than one contained in these words of the Duke in “Measure for Measure”:

“Thou hast nor youth nor age,  
But, as it were, an after dinner sleep,  
Dreaming on both.”

In such few indications of decay as are observable at this distance Falstaff, that beloved old blatherskite, fixed your age when he confessed his own in the First Part of Henry VI, in these words:

As I think, his age some fifty, or,  
by're lady inclining to three score.”



Falstaff had a dislike for definiteness in the matter of age which makes him delightful. But it was in his defiance of time that Falstaff most perfectly foreshadowed your condition. If in your callow days you committed any faults, which God forbid, you obviously repent of them to-night as Falstaff did—

“Not in ashes and sackcloth  
but in new silk and old sack.”

In this exalted condition, physically, mentally and spiritually, we celebrate the first meet of the Seniors' Golf Association at hospitable Apawamis.

I shall in a moment through the words of others describe and defend this company collectively.

Individually I could—indeed in my mind I do—select individuals and insist that Oliver in “As You Like It” describes them with cruel realism when he says:

“ \* \* an oak whose boughs were mossed with age,  
And high top bald.”

Collectively the Chief Justice in the Second Part of Henry IV describes you better than any other in all literature and Falstaff makes valiant defense. The indictment and the defense run thus:

Chief Justice—

“Do you set down your name on the scroll of youth, that are written down old with all the characters of age? Have you not a moist eye? a dry hand? a yellow cheek? a white beard? a decreasing leg? an increasing belly? Is not your voice broken? your wind short? your chin double? your wit single? and every part about you blasted with antiquity?”

To which Falstaff in his own and our defense replies—

“My lord, I was born about three of the clock in the afternoon, with a white head, and a something round belly. For my voice,— I have lost it with hollaing, and singing of anthems. To prove

my youth further, I will not: the truth is, I am only old in judgment and understanding; and he that will caper with me for a thousand marks, let him lend me the money, and have at him."

In creating this organization we have probably builded a monument and in so doing we are only observing the reflections of Benedick in "Much Ado"—

"If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monuments than the bell rings and the widow weeps."

There is something uncannily suggestive too in what the melancholy Jacques calls the sixth age, but we deny that any of us are candidates for "the lean and slippered pantaloon". Knickerbockers had then been invented and therefore I wonder that gloomy philosopher did not more cruelly inveigh against the shrunk shank.

We admit that youth has certain seeming advantages, but young men after all belong to what we may properly call the dependent class. Some of them may insolently offer us three bisques and make us wish we had taken four, but all such performers miss the ecstasy we feel in scoring an eighty, because in doing that we have triumphed over time. But that is only a suggestion of our real triumph.

What brings us together?

We come from many States from many vocations. As the world wags we have various faiths and as many points of view as five hundred men who have played the game hard well can have.

We have been young, as youth goes. We have paid that debt by raising up sons and daughters to take our places. We have played our part in the fierce contests of middle life,—and, I think, played it honorably.

Now we come together as men like us have never before assembled. Why? Because we have discovered as alas! thousands of others have not, how to meet advancing age merrily. By this game of golf and this fellowship we vanquish time even as the boy scores a 79. Neither of us knows just how we do it, but we do it.

We have learned what King Henry meant when in wooing Katherine he said:

"But in faith Kate, the elder I wax, the better I shall appear, my comfort is that old age, that ill-layer up of beauty, can do no more spoil upon my face."

We are in truth no group of fools drawing dials from our pokes or watches from our pockets, nor do we look at these instruments for recording time with lack-lustre eyes, as Jacques's fool did, nor do we say with him:

"It is ten o'clock:

Thus we may see \* \* \* how the world wags;  
'Tis but one hour ago since it was nine,  
And after an hour more 'twill be eleven;  
And so from hour to hour we ripe and ripe,  
And then from hour to hour we rot and rot,  
And thereby hangs a tale."

By this glorious game and this gracious fellowship 'tis true we ripe and ripe; but we are "too much i' the sun" to rot—the sun that browns our bodies and clears our brains. We are, too, in that other sunlight that floods our souls and teaches us to laugh at time, the fearless sunlight of philosophy which makes our western sky more glorious than any sky of youth.

## AMERICAN MUSEUM OF GOLFING ANTIQUITIES

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DINNER OF THE SENIORS' GOLF ASSOCIATION,  
APAWAMIS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1918

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**I**HAVE on one or two occasions made attempts to convince this venerable Bunch that it was anticipated and appreciated by the Bard of Avon, and to-night I propose to show you how, in a cunningly concealed cipher, more subtle than any discovered by the Baconians, Shakespeare discussed golf, had a keen appreciation of all its shots, its inspiration and its despairs.

There has been a good deal of discussion about the antiquity of Golf. The man who had the bug so badly that it drove him in his ethnic investigations across the North Sea into the dunes of Holland, thought he had said the last word. That man wasn't familiar with his Shakespeare. William gives Golf an antiquity of at least two thousand years. He clearly and definitely shows that Julius Caesar was a bum putter and he paints a familiar picture of the crowd of friends gathered around the home green when the match is level and the sympathy they always show when a man putts past a hole three or four times.

Shakespeare expresses this in Casca's description of what happened one day at the Lupercal when Caesar refused the crown: " \* \* \* he put it by thrice every time

gentler than other: and at each putting-by mine honest neighbor shouted." Caesar having missed it thrice, Casca's dagger found the hole.

In the same play, Brutus, the original Bolshevik, says: "Good words are better than bad strokes." And Antony reminds Brutus of "the hole he made in Caesar's heart".

In "All's Well" Shakespeare draws the picture of a familiar friend, the man who haggles on the first tee about how the match shall be made up: the man who in the distant past got a handicap of eighteen and has never played in a Club Tournament since for fear that he might win something and get his handicap lowered. Shakespeare had his measure when he said "Half won, is match well made".

The gentle Bard had a keen appreciation too of the foolish competitor to whom you have conceded bisques, who is playing fairly well and thinks as he is only one down that he will keep two or three bisques for the last hole, and then loses his ball on the last tee shot. Sebastian describes him in "The Tempest", when he says: "I think he will carry this Island home in his pocket."

Shakespeare knew the difference in golf courses. It wasn't Apawamis, but I think I know what course he had in mind when he makes Quintus in his "Titus Andronicus" after he has led Martius into the pit, say: "What subtle hole is this whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briars?"

It is perfectly clear, although the Rules of Golf Committee of St. Andrews have evolved no rules governing it, that our Bard knew all about the Four-Ball-Match. You have seen the expression on the face of

your partner when one of the opposing players pitched his ball stone dead from a hundred yards away. In "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" Sylvia says to Proteus: "By thy approach thou makest me most unhappy."

And you know the glow of satisfaction that spreads over your frame when in a Four-Ball-Match your partner does the same thing. All this was expressed in "As You Like It", by the First Lord who when ordered to find the melancholy Jacques replies: "He saves my labor by his own approach." The Fool in "Timon" was no fool in Golf matters when he accurately describes the man who plays to the green and then goes down in one. He tells us of the men who "approach sadly and go away merry".

The Prince of Monaco in the Casket Scene of "The Merchant of Venice" typifies the bold player and expresses his philosophy when he says: "Men that hazard all, do it in hope of fair advantages."

Hotspur's outburst in "Henry IV" when the King charges Mortimer with treason, could as well be the language of a man who has been hit on the bean by a careless player: "I will ease my heart albeit I make a hazard of my head."

Having fairly established the antiquity of Golf and noticed its place in literature, it becomes my duty to report to this museum what progress we have made in the past year, in adding to our rare specimens.

You know how we classify ourselves—55 to 59 inclusive, 60 to 64 inclusive, 65 to 69 inclusive, and 70 over the top.

During the year we have dug up two rare specimens: one from the New Haven shales which are placed in



the upper Jurassic or Juristic. We call this specimen "Big Bill" Taft. The other from auriferous deposits of lower Manhattan. We call this specimen "Charlie" Hughes.

The first is a very rare and valuable specimen. He is really "a" if not "the" missing link in golf. The persistence with which we take our eye off the ball even after years of play has made it clear to many of us that there must have been a time when keeping the eye glued to the ball wasn't necessary. Until this specimen was placed in the museum we were not quite sure. Now we are. He has shown us that looking at the ball is entirely unnecessary, because he hits it when it is entirely below the line of his horizon.

The second specimen out-Caesars Caesar. I have told you that Julius was a bum putter, but "Charlie" is bummer. Competing in the 1916 Presidential sweepstakes he played his opponent level to the eighteenth green, puttied past the hole not three times but for a week and never got down at all.

We are, therefore, progressing in the number and rarity of our specimens. The museum is already national and threatens to become international in its activities. We now venture to predict that it will in time overcome the natural effervescence of the early sixties and achieve the robust youth that lies in the seventies and beyond.

## IN PRAISE OF AGE

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 77th BIRTHDAY (MARCH 27, 1919)  
OF HORACE L. HOTCHKISS  
HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE SENIORS' GOLF ASSOCIATION  
DELMONICO'S, NEW YORK, APRIL, 1919

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*Our Honorary and Greatly Honored President, Canadian  
Guests, and Plain Members—*

Cicero had in mind the type of which our guest is a shining example, when he penned his noble essay on old age, and especially when he wrote the sentiment\* printed on the evening's program. Further on Cicero says:

“But whatever the extent of our present duration may prove, a wise and good man ought to be contented with the allotted measure, remembering that it is in life as on the stage, where it is not necessary in order to be approved, that the actor's part should continue to the conclusion of the drama; it is sufficient, in whatever scene he shall make his final exit, that he support the character assigned to him with deserved applause. The truth is a small portion of time is abundantly adequate to the purposes of honor and virtue. But should our years continue to be multiplied a wise man will no more lament his entrance into old age than the husbandman regrets, when the bloom and fragrance of spring is passed away, that summer or autumn is arrived.”

It has long been the custom of men to honor those who have borne themselves heroically in war. Honors

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\*“He alone shall taste this sweet fruit of revered age, whose former years have been distinguished by an uniform series of laudable and meritorious actions.”

take a great variety of forms. The survivors of a great war are usually given a distinctive medal; sometimes Congress or Parliament votes a special medal. Titles are invented to fit the occasion and the service. Sometimes a victorious General or Admiral is given public receptions and banquets.

The Romans gave a triumph to the Generals who had added territory to the Empire. When the Senate had voted a triumph to a General he entered the city through the Portal of Triumph and rode over the *via sacra* to the Capitol. He was dressed in gold and purple, crowned with laurel and carried a laurel branch in his right hand. His troops and the people followed him shouting

“IO TRIUMPHE! IO TRIUMPHE!”

The ceremonies by which we honor our heroes resemble these even in form; in spirit and purpose the Roman triumph still survives.

Of the famous Canadian Regiment known as the “Princess Pats” only a handful survive. Of our 69th, of the original Seventh, only a handful remain. In a crowded hour death claimed and took from them a toll that otherwise would have been as certainly but almost imperceptibly taken by the inexorable demands of the years.

Life is a battle. Its contests are less crowded, apparently less cruel, seemingly less deadly than were the Somme and Verdun and the Argonne. But in reality life's battles are as deadly as those of any war that has been or shall be.

Those who survive in the longer and less crowded battles of every-day life are almost invariably they who

were wise and just and fearless of soul. Men who reach nearly four score years are truly veterans of a long fight in which they have been constantly under fire.

The attack begins with the cry of fear that ushers a new life into the world, and every life begins with a cry of fear. The attack never ceases; it is deadliest when life is most intense—in its middle period. It measurably diminishes when a handful out of every thousand emerges into the serene airs of golden days. That handful, those survivors are as truly veterans, as certainly heroes, as the defenders of Thermopylae or the victors of Verdun. But alas, the world does not always so regard them. The survivors of the battles of life are seldom cheered on that account, and it is rather the way of the world to hustle them to one side.

But now and again comes a veteran so wise, so gentle, so young in his mind and soul, that in his honor men pause in the conflict that never ceases, in which every man in a very real sense has his back to the wall.

Therefore it is that we have paused to-night.

We are gathered to honor a man who is a veteran because he has fought a clean, long fight, a hero because he has fought through the Argonne Forest of the October of life and rests a victor in its November.

We have expressed to him appreciation before, but not this kind of appreciation. We have loved him because of his lovable qualities, and we have told him that. We have been grateful because he happily founded our organization, and we have told him of our gratitude. To-night we have aroused in ourselves a bit of the mysticism of the East, a sentiment that venerates age and makes Gods of worthy ancestors. On all

occasions we hail our guest as Founder and Friend, but to-night we greet him as the Hero who has survived at least seventy-seven battles, who bears the scars of clean and honorable combat, who is now emerging into the serene airs of that Beatitude which is reserved for the pure in heart, for the plain men who have fought through every battle of life and have kept the faith.

We fill our glasses but we do not say "long life to you," because you have had that already, and Cicero elsewhere in his famous essay says that no portion of time can be justly deemed long that will necessarily have an end. We do not say "may you prosper"—you have prospered. We do not say "may you have friends"—you have troops of friends. We drink no usual toast because you have achieved all that standard toasts hope for. We drink to your triumph. This is your triumph.

It is yours because in compliance with the Roman law you have added territory to the empire of ripened years, to the things that make the November of life even more beautiful than its June; you have brought many captives home to Apawamis. You have come here, as the Roman Generals did, through the Portal of Triumph, which, in your case, swung open because you could give the magic pass-word—seventy-seven. The laurel is on your brow; you are clad in the gold and purple of our reverence and affection. We follow you advancing over the *via sacra* that leads from the first to the nineteenth hole. Having reached the nineteenth hole we drink, and as we drink we shout as the Romans did when following a hero to the Capitol: "IO TRIUMPHE! IO TRIUMPHE!"





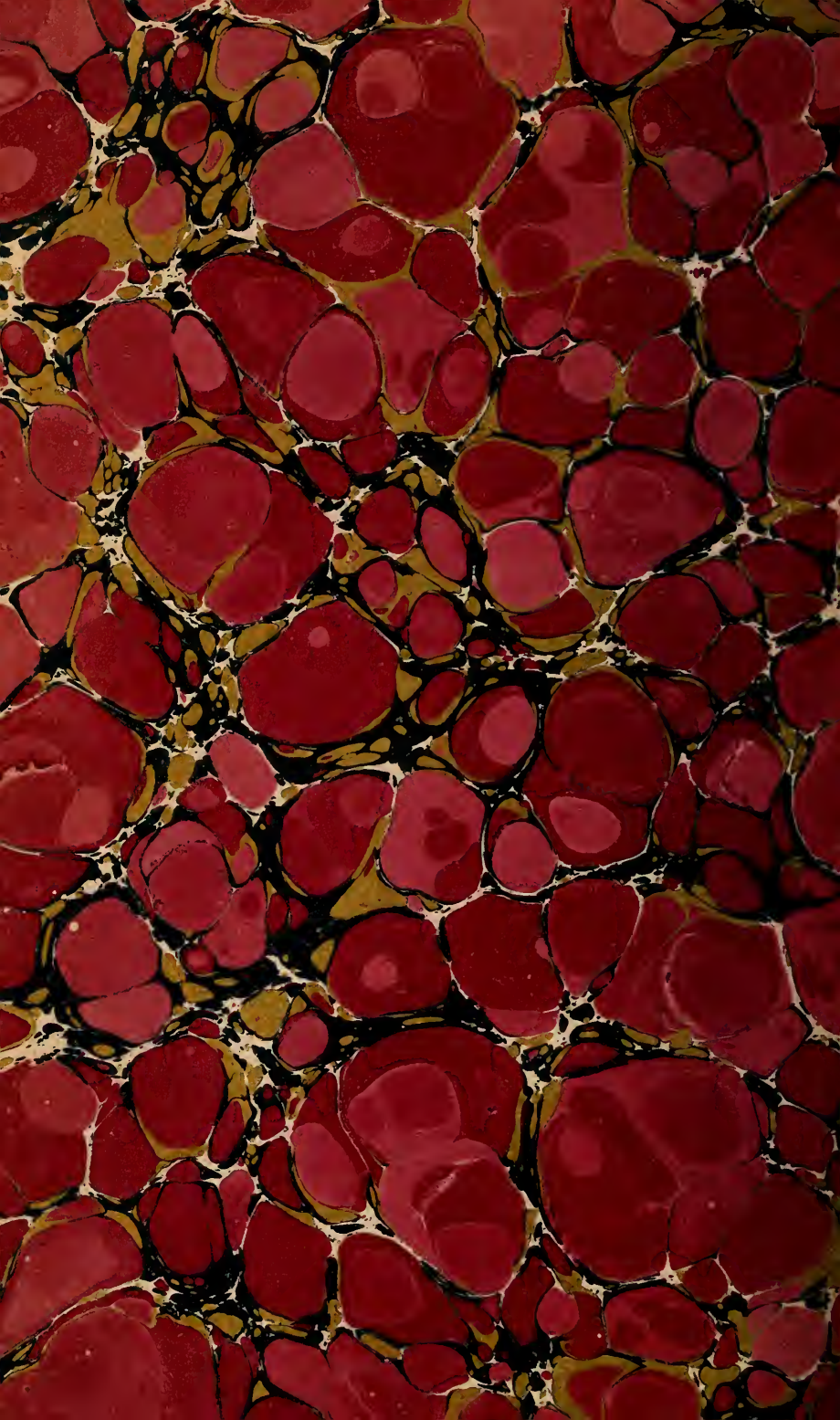














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